

# THE LETTERS OF THEODOROS HYRTAKENOS

GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION,  
AND COMMENTARY

by

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and  
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## PREFACE

A new edition of the Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos does not really call for an explanation or for that matter a justification, considering the plethora of publications in the field of Byzantine Studies, particularly in the recent decades. Among other things this new edition provides a sounder text when compared to the version published some two centuries ago by F.J.G. La Porte du Theil. The discussion, translation, and commentary accompanying the Greek text may also be of interest to both historians and philologists working on the Palaeologan period in light of the fact that the letters of Hyrtakenos have been rather inexplicably underutilized by scholars.

This edition is the outcome of a joint project undertaken several years ago with Professor Georgios Fatouros (Freie Universität Berlin). As often happens, our initial plans changed over time, but the topic of Hyrtakenos remained a priority in our long standing exchange of texts and ideas. It is a great pleasure for me to finally be in a position to present the result of our collaboration - as the saying goes, better late than never.

But I should stress that I alone bear the responsibility for inevitable errors and misjudgments.

It remains to express my sincere thanks to my good friend Professor Ioannis Polemis who read the typescript and gave advice and encouragement. A special debt of gratitude I owe also to Dr. Deborah Brown Kazazis for her meticulous editing and valuable suggestions in making my English more readable. I also thank Dimitris Zazas for his care in seeing the book through the press.

Ioannina  
30 June 2017

Apostolos Karpozilos

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## INTRODUCTION

Theodoros Hyrtakenos continues even now to be regarded as an obscure writer of the Palaeologan period, although his ninety-three letters together with his rhetorical works were published in the early nineteenth century, at a time when the study of Byzantium had not yet become an academic discipline.<sup>1</sup> Despite his early entry in the bibliography, his correspondence rarely attracted the attention of scholars because as an author he was considered a mediocrity, lacking both literary taste and imagination in his writings.<sup>2</sup> It is true that in his letters Hyrtakenos becomes somewhat monotonous, frequently projecting the image of an impoverished intellectual, an image he consciously

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1. F.J.G. La Porte du Theil, *Notices et Extraits d'un volume de la Bibliothèque Nationale, coté MCCIX parmi le manuscrits grecs, et contenant les opuscules et lettres anecdotes de Théodôre l' Hyrtacénien, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, et autres bibliothèques* 5 (1798), 709-744; 6 (1800) 1-48. J.-F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, Paris, 1829, 248-292; II, Paris 1830, 409-453; III Paris 1831, 1-70.

2. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende der ost-römischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Munich 1897, 483-485.



cultivated, sometimes to the extreme, in the hope of winning the sympathy of his patrons. But he was not alone in writing letters of petition to the Emperor, the Patriarch, and other powerful men of his day to request financial assistance. In the case of Ioannes Tzetzes, material goods meant nothing, because he refused to become a slave to affluence.<sup>3</sup> But Tzetzes was of course an uncompromising individual, one who refused to accept gifts even from friends as a matter of principle. With Theodoros Hyrtakenos, however, the matter was altogether different.

Like Tzetzes, Hyrtakenos was a teacher, but the pay he received was irregular and never sufficient to sustain him. He complained that he socialized with men of power and wealth but enjoyed none of it. He thus felt that he was unjustly overlooked by his powerful friends and made no secret of his bitterness. Undoubtedly his correspondence presents a special case. Letters that concern personal matters or some kind of request are not a rarity, but they never take up a whole collection.

The suffering of an intellectual who moved in the midst of a circle of prosperous literati is in itself an interesting subject.<sup>4</sup> But this is only one side of the coin. It is also worth considering

3, Epist. 39, 6, Leone, 58: καὶ ἀρκεῖ μοι μικρά' προσειπὼν 'καὶ πλειόνων ἀνελευθέρως οὐ κέχρημαι', ἥρετῆσάμην βίον τὸν πενιχρὸν καὶ ἐγγώνιον. Cf. also Epist. 19, 7, Leone, 36: ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἐλευθερίως μικρά μοι καὶ πλειόνων ἀνελευθέρως οὐ κέχρημαι.

4. I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Bucarest 6-12 Septembre 1971, I, Bucharest 1974, 69-92.

his network of correspondents, his personal contacts and his friendships, which were based on the teacher-pupil relationship, as well as his ideas and social values, which appear stereotyped and yet at times deviate from the norm to project a contradictory self-image. The issue of the circulation of manuscripts also surfaces in his letters because like many others he borrowed manuscripts and sent his own writings to be read and critiqued. He belonged to a circle of teachers and government officials which we cannot fully identify, but we do know that at times he intervened with high-ranking officials on behalf of his companions. But most telling are the letters about his financial problems and the way he went about making his requests effective. He tried to become witty and somewhat dramatic. At one time his estate stood in ruins; at another, his storage vessels were empty at harvest time, while on other occasions his starving horse was ready to devour him. As a rule he drew his examples from the classics and consequently the day to day events are never described in realistic terms. In this respect he did not differ from the intellectual norms of his time.<sup>5</sup>

Our main source of information concerning the teaching career of Hyrtakenos is the dossier of his ninety-three letters in *Parisinus gr. 1209*, a codex unicus of the fourteenth century written on parchment, which also transmits his rhetorical works. It is unusual that an ordinary teacher (impoverished, as he himself claimed) would aspire to preserve his literary endeavors to pos-

5. Cf. A. Karpozilos, "The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos", *JÖB* 40 (1990) 275-294.

terity.<sup>6</sup> The *Parisinus gr. 1209* may have been an autograph as some marginal notes suggest.<sup>7</sup> If this assumption proves correct then the selection of letters along with the other writings was made by Hyrtakenos himself. But what criteria did he employ for his selection? Most probably he wished to leave an account of his career as a teacher with an eye to being read and publicized. Puzzling though this may seem, his literary output was probably gathered and published not long after his lifetime.

As his family name suggests, he was born in Hyrtake, a place near Kyzikos, probably in the 1260s. About his family and teachers we know next to nothing. Only once did he remark that his parents provided the tuition for his education (Epist. 1, 3-10). As a youth he had met Konstantinos Akropolites (Epist. 46), the son of the grand logothete Georgios Akropolites, most likely as a fellow student. Their friendship, if it ever existed, did not last very long. From other fragmentary inferences we know that he was the owner of a house in Constantinople, large enough to have a stable in order to keep a horse (Epist. 2, 6-7, 9-10, 28-30, 92), and a garden with fig trees (Epist. 14).

He probably came to the attention of the court towards the end of the thirteenth century, if we interpret correctly a pros-

6. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit", *ΠΟΛΥΠΛΕΥΡΟΣ ΝΟΪΣ: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Scholz - G. Makris, Munich -Leipzig 2000, 373.

7. P. Caballero Sánchez, "Le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gr. 1209: L'autographe de Théodore Hyrtakènos?", *Byz* 84 (2014) 33-47.

phonema which he composed for Andronikos II.<sup>8</sup> It must have been a special occasion for delivering this speech in the presence of the Emperor. In his address Hyrtakenos praised him for his efforts to combat heresy – alluding to the repudiation of the proposed Union with Rome in December 1282 or perhaps the conclusion of the Arsenite schism sometime after 1284.<sup>9</sup> His *prophonema* is undoubtedly the earliest extant record of his contacts with the court of Andronikos II. He must have been enlisted as an enthusiastic supporter of the new Emperor at the start of his reign; Andronikos II was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne. It would seem that he continued to have access to the court, because several years later he delivered monodies on the death of the Emperor's wife, Eirene of Montferrat, in 1317, and his son Michael IX in 1320.<sup>10</sup>

The lack of a clear chronological order in his letters makes it difficult to establish their dating with any certainty. Only the first nine letters seem to have been arranged in temporal precedence: the first two were addressed to the Emperor (Andronikos II), the next two (Epist. 3-4) to the Patriarch (Ioannes Glykys), the following three (Epist. 5-7) to the *epi tou kanikleiou* (Nikephoros Choumnos) and the last two (Epist. 8-9) to the *megas logothetes* (Theodoros Metochites). From that point on there is no

8. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 248-253.

9. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἑκείνου μέχρι σου, βασιλεῦ, δογμάτων ὅσων καὶ οἶων αἵρέσεις, ἤλικαι τε φληναφίαι καὶ βλασφημίαι ..., *ibid.*, 252.

10. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 254-268; 269-281. A. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden*, Vienna 1994, 255-261.

sequential order in the collection. Some letters, however, appear to have been grouped together because they were written in the same period or because of their subject matter.

A letter addressed to Metochites (Epist. 22) containing the request that Hyrtakenos be exempted from serving in the civil guard seems to be one of the earliest of the collection. It could be dated in the first decade of the fourteenth century. We know that his two letters to Ioannes Glykys (Epist. 3-4) were written during the latter's patriarchate, that is between 1315 and 1319, and his dispatches to Glykys' son Basileios (Epist. 67, 87, 93) date from the same period. Another group (Epist. 75, 83, 88) was written some time after the marriage of the younger Andronikos to Eirene von Braunschweig (23 October 1317), perhaps in the course of 1318.<sup>11</sup> Two other letters (Epist. 54-55) addressed to the *domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos were written on the eve of a campaign against the Turks in Asia Minor. The expedition itself, however, is not mentioned in the historical sources of the period so we cannot date it with any certainty. It probably took place sometime after 1325 because in both letters Kantakouzenos was addressed as μέγας δομέστικός, a title given to him around that time.<sup>12</sup> Letters 16 and 21 addressed to Theodoros Metochites were certainly written after 1321, and the criterion for this date

11. G. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", *JÖB* 43 (1993), 222-223.

12. D.M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, Cambridge 1966, 23-24. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228.

is the award of his title in that year.<sup>13</sup> Finally, Epist. 15 dates around 1327-1328 (addressed to Andronikos Palaiologos [PLP 21435], governor of Belgrade/Berat in Albania). In other words, the collection extends over a decade, from approximately 1315 to 1328.<sup>14</sup>

The network of his correspondence is relatively small (twenty-nine recipients in total) including the Emperor and his two powerful ministers, Choumnos and Metochites, in addition to high-ranking officials and former students employed in the court. Some of these men are known from other contemporary sources. Letters addressed to Hyrtakenos have not been preserved. Metochites claims the lion's share as an addressee with twenty-one letters which concern more often than not the writer's poverty.<sup>15</sup> The Emperor comes next with fifteen letters, for the most part of a similar content,<sup>16</sup> followed by Choumnos with seven.<sup>17</sup> Among remaining correspondents Konstantinos Loukites, a former student who held the office of *protovestiarios* in the court of the Komnenoi in Trebizond, occupies a special place in his correspondence with seven letters,<sup>18</sup> followed by

13. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228.

14. For the date of Epist. 15, see the discussion in the commentary, pp. 324-325.

15. Epist. 8-9, 11, 16-22, 35-36, 38-39, 57, 62, 65-66, 74, 81, 90.

16. Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 58-59, 64, 75, 83-84, 88-89, 92.

17. Epist. 5-7, 28, 77, 86, 91.

18. Epist. 37, 40-41, 56, 73, 78, 85.

Nikephoros Metochites, also a former student who received four letters addressed (Epist. 42, 44, 49, 71). He sent three letters to his other prominent student Basileios Glykys, son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (Epist. 67, 87, 93).

His addressees were by and large government officials, some holding important positions in the imperial court, who could mediate with the Emperor in support of Hyrtakenos's various petitions. There are only a few men of the cloth among his recipients and they do not figure prominently in his correspondence. In fact, he forwarded only two letters to the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (Epist. 3-4) to let him know that he had tried to visit him twice within two weeks but was not allowed to enter his residence. When he needed to approach the Patriarch, for instance, in trying to secure monastic property as a *charistikion*, he turned to the patriarch's son Basileios to intervene on his behalf (Epist. 67). Other clerical recipients held secretarial positions in the Church hierarchy. But his letters to them concern only routine matters and small favours.

He addressed the various officials in a personal style and direct way without the customary greetings and introductions. Presumably some of these men were friends and former students so he could dispense with formalities. He frequently employed the theme of friendship, especially when he wrote to them (Epist. 12,2; 37,20; 41,2). But the immediate issue was usually to ask a favour while simultaneously reminding them that they were indebted to him. There is no evidence that he ever reciprocated in some way for the help or gifts he received. But for the most part his letters were not about friendship. One has the

impression that he was continuing an ongoing discussion of his case pending settlement in the imperial court. For a poor intellectual he nevertheless appears well connected with officialdom. After all, his school was attended by students sponsored by the government who later served in the imperial court as *notarioi* and in other similar positions. And yet his involvement with officialdom cannot be clearly defined. For one thing, we will never know how effective his well-composed letters were, or whether his requests were ultimately granted.

Considering the bulk of his correspondence, he wrote relatively few letters to the Emperor describing his material privations (Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 59, 64, 84, 89). For all his complaints, Andronikos II once presented him with a horse in recognition of his services, obviously as a teacher (Epist. 1, 6, 9). From this gift, Hyrtakenos developed a somewhat humorous topos in his letters – that his starving horse was threatening to devour him because he could not afford to feed it (Epist. 6,17; 7,20; 10,5; 28,3; 29,19; 30,3). Upon the recommendation of his counselors, the Emperor once even agreed to grant him a land holding (Epist. 20,6), a state subsidy (Epist. 65,10) and at another time, expensive apparel (6,30; 7,33). In his letters, however, Hyrtakenos time and again complained that the privileges which the Emperor had approved had not yet been accorded (Epist. 34, 36). Unfortunately his relationship with the Emperor cannot be further defined or amplified.

By far the largest group of letters in the collection, a total of twenty-one, is addressed to Theodoros Metochites and their subject matter, of course, is Hyrtakenos' perpetual poverty. Meto-

chites, as is well known, held important court positions as the closest adviser of the Emperor in whose presence the latter had occasionally approved the petitions of Hyrtakenos (Epist. 20). The grand logothete had hired him to teach one of his sons (Epist. 19, 35) and had used him to secure a manuscript of Aristotle (Epist. 11). There was certainly a familiarity between the two men, but it went no further than this. Once Hyrtakenos hinted that Metochites owed his brilliant success to the Muses and to the god of learning, Hermes, and as a fellow servant of Hermes, as he put it, he should intervene on his behalf with the Emperor (Epist. 90). In contrast, his seven letters to Nikephoros Choumnos appear somewhat more personal and less restrained in their wording. Perhaps at the time they were written the star of Choumnos had sunk into insignificance. When Choumnos died in 1327 it was Hyrtakenos who was called upon to deliver the funeral oration.<sup>19</sup> Finally, among his remaining correspondents Konstantinos Loukites (PLP 15153), a *protovestiarios* in the court of Trebizond, occupies a rather special place in this collection. Hyrtakenos took the time to write him lengthy letters full of classical allusions and in accordance with the rules of epistolography. He felt proud, of course, that his student had embarked upon a brilliant career (Epist. 73, 78). In return Loukites sent him gifts and money and upon one occasion asked him to find a copy of the *Odyssey* (Epist. 56).

19. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 282-292. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden*, 260-261.

The circumstances under which his letters were written, as was noted above, cannot be established with any certainty since they do not provide concrete hints. His overall poverty was the result of his rich students not remitting their fees (Epist. 8, 22; 38, 22; 39, 4; 66, 2). Though private, his school was attended by students sponsored by the government (Epist. 64, 93). When the support he received from the State for teaching poor students was discontinued, his situation became even more dire. About one-third of his correspondence is taken up by pleas to the Emperor and his ministers to be given an allowance for his services in money and grain. Such letters imply a situation that continued over a long period of time. He seems earnest in his letter to the Emperor when he wrote that he faced famine, which is "the most fearful monster that ever drew breath and like a haughty bull roars against me and mocks me" (Epist. 1, 17; cf. also 33, 34, 39). Similar letters may have been written in a period of famine when wheat was scarce and being sold at high prices on the black market. Such a situation recalls the events of the winter of 1306-1307 when Constantinople suffered from famine because Andronikos II had prohibited the cultivation of the fields in Thrace to starve the Catalans and force them to leave the land, a measure that brought about the disruption of the grain supply in the Capital.<sup>20</sup> This possibility should not be excluded as it provides a different and more pragmatic perspective when, for instance, Hyrtakenos asked the Emperor "to shoot his fiery arrows

20. Cf. A. Laiou, "The Provisioning of Constantinople during the Winter of 1306-1307", *Byz* 37 (1967) 91-113.



of gratuitous corn against famine" (Epist. 33) or when he wrote to Metochites that "famine stands before my doorstep and sets ajar the door for death" (Epist. 9).

Be that as it may, his insecure income caused him to consider abandoning his profession and retiring to a monastery on Mount Athos (Epist. 61). Elsewhere he mentions that he ventured to become a farmer but an earthquake destroyed his estate (Epist. 16). He tried to obtain land property as a *pronoiaros* in the region of Nymphaion (Epist. 20) and monastic land (*charistikion*) around Kyzikos (Epist. 67), though we do not know whether his efforts were repaid. He was dissatisfied with the money he earned from his profession and in a letter to Basileios Glykys, dated between 1315 and 1319, he confided that he was contemplating giving up teaching, but the Emperor obliged him to change his plans (Epist. 93,5). It seems that his financial problems were never-ending.

For Hyrtakenos, a salary from the imperial treasury would have meant power and social distinction. It would also have enhanced his position among the circle of literati, among whom distrust, envy and fierce competition were ever present. We will never fully know his actual living conditions, but from the few inferences scattered in his correspondence we can postulate that he did not live, as he professed, on the fringes of poverty. He maintained (at least for a period) a horse (Epist. 2; 6-7; 9-10; 28-30; 92) and was in possession of a library that included the works of church fathers and certainly some classical authors whom he taught in his school (Epist. 30). The kind of gifts he was interested in receiving from his friends were quite expensive, like the

special silk garment he expected to receive from Trebizond (Epist. 78,35).<sup>21</sup>

He certainly did not identify with the working class and the uneducated (Epist. 22). His assertion that he envied the labourers who earned more than he did cannot be taken seriously, for this was a traditional cliché.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary his mentality was rather aristocratic and in tune with the intellectual trends of his time. He criticized a letter he received from an Akarnanian because it was written in somewhat plain language and not up to the standards he maintained as an intellectual living in Constantinople, the world's cultural capital (Epist. 50). He thought the reason he had not received a letter for some time from Loukites was due to the latter's living among non-Greeks in Trebizond (Epist. 78,13). Nor does he make any reference to the economic crisis and internal strife that marked the reign of Andronikos II. And when he mentions a contemporary event (preparation of an expedition against the Turks in Asia Minor), he goes back to the time when the Greeks fought against Xerxes (Epist. 54-55). His personal affairs are also described in antique forms, from which he derived his ideas and inspiration.

Hyrtakenos became part of the Constantinopolitan intelligentsia thanks to his classical training. If his fortunes did not

21. Karpozilos, "The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 293.

22. For this topos characteristic is the "Dramation" of Michael Hapluchair in P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis", Byz 39 (1969) 251-283. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 69-70.

improve as he had dreamed they would as a young man, this was because he never advanced beyond the position of teacher. His professed poverty was probably linked to his humble origins, about which we practically know nothing. The goal of an impecunious scholar was to obtain an appointment in the State apparatus or Church hierarchy. If he failed to receive a post he had to depend on the generosity of a patron, which was an exception in time of crisis.

The social status of the intelligentsia in the fourteenth century has been told and needs no repeating here,<sup>23</sup> and the discussion of this subject has not produce any evidence for the existence of an intellectual proletariat. To be sure, Hyrtakenos and Manuel Philes begged the rich for money and gifts, but the act of asking the aristocracy for a favour does not necessarily make them members of the proletariat.<sup>24</sup> Hyrtakenos' ties with officialdom were limited to old acquaintances from his school. When he went unescorted to visit Ioannes Glykys at his patriarchal residence he knew no one at the gate and as a result he was sent away twice disappointed (Epist. 3-4). There is no evidence that there existed any solidarity among his network of corre-

23. Cf. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", 69-92. See also the review article of A. Kazhdan in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982) 83-97.

24. Cf. I. Rosenthal - Kamarinea, "Beobachtungen zur Stellung des Dichters in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft des XIV Jahrhunderts anhand der Schriften des Manuel Philes", *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, II, Bucharest 1975, 251-258.

spondents. He valued hard work and simplicity. He had only words of praise for Alexios Apokaukos, a former student of obscure background, because he studied hard and had no time for the theaters and the hippodrome (Epist. 69). A bad example was Metochites' son, a privileged aristocrat who enjoyed riding horses, music and theatrical spectacles (Epist. 19). If there is an element of social criticism in his correspondence, it is directed towards the rich and the unjust way they treated him (Epist. 8, 66, 77, 81). Those whom he took under his protection and on whose behalf he intervened did not belong to the privileged class, like the medical doctor Baragkatos, a refugee in the Capital (Epist. 21), or Panaretos, a sick priest who on his deathbed requested Hyrtakenos' assistance in receiving a visit by the Patriarch's secretary (Epist. 23). To maintain appearances, he suggested that Metochites purchase from his poor friend Choniates an Aristotle manuscript which he had borrowed and kept for a long time (Epist. 11).

Hyrtakenos believed that as a teacher he had been treated unjustly and unfairly by the rich and the administration. He wrote letters of protest and at the end of his career he decided to publish them, perhaps to expose the injustice done to him but also because he thought they were worth reading for their literary merit. In any case, his letters are placed next to Alexios Makrembolites' "Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor"<sup>25</sup> with the only difference that philologists or historians have system-

25. Cf. I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor", *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 187-228.

atically overlooked the writings and thoughts of the impoverished scholar from Hyrtake.

#### THE MANUSCRIPT

*Parisinus gr. 1209 (=P)*

Fourteenth century. Codex on vellum of 164 pages numbered in Arabic numerals by ■ modern hand. There are also eight additional leaves (f. IV = A, f. V = B). Leaves measure 19.8 X 14 cm. Single column of 28-30 (rarely 27) lines.<sup>26</sup>

Six intact quaternions (pp. 1-16, 45-60, 61-76, 77-92, 107-122, 123-138). From four quaternions there is one folio missing at the beginning of the pagination (pp. 17-30, 31-44, 93-106 in all three cases with loss of text and 139-152 without any loss). There is also one quaternion from which two folia are missing (pp. 153-164 with loss of text). Lost are a page between pages 152 and 153 and also the last one, after p. 164. Significantly, the last letter of the collection is transmitted incomplete; one or more leaves may have been lost.

At places the condition of the parchment is marred by holes

26. Cf. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris 1886, 266.



and incisions. Accordingly between p. 28 and 29 only a small portion of the torn out page remains still intact: one can read a few letters. Also between p. 30 and 31 a small piece of the torn out page survives. Between p. 104 and 105 there is a whole page missing. Missing are also two folia: the first, between p. 152 and 153 and the second after p. 164. Ff. IV (=A) and V (=B) are binding leaves taken from a manuscript which contained hymns to the honour of the Theotokos (?); f. IV: inc.: ἀρρήτων ὑπερκοσμίων ἄλλων δεῖ. ὁ νοῦς ὁ θεῖος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ; expl.: μίαν ὑπόστασιν δούς γεννήτορ Χριστὸν; f. IV<sup>v</sup>: inc.: ἑλίγγοις ὑπέκυψα ὁ ἄθλιος καὶ ἐν σκότει κακίας; expl.: νόμους σωτηριώδεις καταλιπὼν; V f. : inc.: [ρῆσαι νῦν τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὁ αὐτός. ἱερωτάτης, προφήτα, ῥίζης ἐβλάστησας; expl.: ἀγνή κατανύξεως; f. V<sup>v</sup>: inc.:] νέμος σκέπη σου μόνη; Expl.: ἡλιακαῖς θείαις...

Contents: 1) pp. 1-36: Θεοδώρου εὐτελοῦς τοῦ Ὑρτακηνοῦ λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτείαν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀκαταμαχῆτου (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris 1831, 1-58;

2) pp. 36-44: Ἐκφρασις εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἁγίας Ἀννης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου (ed. Boissonade, *ibid.*, III, 59-70);

3) pp. 45-77: Ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἀνίαν τὸν θαυματουργὸν (Boissonade, *ibid.* II, 409-453);

4) pp. 77-81: Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα (προσφώνημα in marg.) (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 248-253);

5) pp. 81-90: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ αἰοιδίου βασιλέως κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγου τοῦ νέου (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 254-268);

6) pp. 90-97: τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς αἰοιδίου καὶ μακαρίας δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Εἰρήνης (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 269-281);

7) pp. 97-104: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ περιποθήτῳ συμπενθέρῳ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἁγίου αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῶν κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κυρῷ Νικηφόρῳ Χούμνῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 282-292);

8) pp. 105-164: Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ὑρτακηνοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ (the ninety three letters of the present edition). Significantly the last letter of the collection is transmitted incomplete: Epist. 93 [4β']; one or more leaves may have been lost. The last written folio of the codex (pp. 163-164) is damaged. At places the condition of the parchment is marred by holes and incisions.

Inks: Dark brown for text; vermilion for titles, initial letters and for the greater part of the marginal notes. Also for initial letters beginning new paragraphs. Ligatures and abbreviations are frequent. In the margins of the manuscript, there is a number of notes in Greek (ἱστορία, θαυμαστέον, ὥραϊον, παροιμία, σημειῶσαι etc).

Binding: Red brown leather with the title on the back in gold: THEOD. XYRTAC (sic). On f. I, table of contents in Latin: codex membranaceus saec. 14 scriptus, fine mutilus, quo continentur varia Theodori Hyrtaceni opera, videlicet:

oratio de laudibus S. Virginis Pag. 1.

description horti quem possedit s<sup>ta</sup> Anna, s<sup>lae</sup> Virginis mater Pag. 36.

oratio in Aninam Thaumaturgum Pag. 45.

oratio ad imperatorem nuncupatoria Pag. 77.

monodia in mortem regis Michaelis Palaeologi Pag.81.

monodia in mortem Irenae Reginae Pag. 90.

Monodia in mortem consocerī Andronici imperatoris Pag. 97.

Pag. 105 sequuntur complures Theodori ad diversos epistolarum. floruit 14. saec. imperante Andronico Palaeologo seniore. nondum edita hujusce auctoris scripta, quae tamen ad illudstrandam saeculi 14. historiam plurimum conferre possunt. constat pag. 164. On f. IV and on p. 164 there is a stamp stating BIBLIOTHECAE REGIAE.

Written throughout by the same hand, the manuscript seems to date not long after the lifetime of Hyrtakenos. One could even suggest that it may have been a presentation copy of his to a high dignitary. More recently it has been suggested that the codex could be an autograph of Hyrtakenos because there are a number of marginal notes which elucidate the text to an extent and that only he could have made.<sup>27</sup> But was Hyrtakenos himself the author of the glosses or someone else from his own circle? Autograph manuscripts are rather the exception in letter collections and those that survive are normally dated during the Palaeologan period. In general it cannot be easily resolved which stage of composition a manuscript represents – whether it is a transcript or an authorized version or in the strict sense of the word whether it transmits an αὐτόγραφος γράφη.<sup>28</sup> Be that as it

27. P. Caballero Sánchez, "Le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gr. 1209," 33-47.

28. D. Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autoren Handschriften", *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger,

may, in the case of the *Parisinus gr. 1209* an apostrophe along the margins marks systematically the excerpts/quotations made from ancient authors, whereas a series of abbreviated notes point out the mythological references, the stories and the various pithy sayings and maxims with which Hyrtakenos had embellished his writings: ἱστορία (pp. 39, 40, 42, 85, 86, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 105, 106, 114, 116, 132, 140, 160), γνώμη (pp. 99, 102, 135, 151), θαυμάσιον (pp. 50, 67, 71), ὥραϊον (p. 43), παροιμία (pp. 32, 36, 84, 43, 106, 108, 115, 118, 120, 126, 152, 156, 159), εὐχὴ (pp. 50, 161). Spelling errors, erased words and revisions occur seldom. There are only four emendations noted in the entire text of the *Parisinus gr. 1209* and they have been executed by the original scribe. In all four cases the word which was to be replaced is indicated in the margin with the note γράφε and these revisions seem to have originated from Hyrtakenos himself: μυρίων δεινῶν ... καὶ συγκυρμάτων: γρ. συναντημάτων (p. 36); τοῦτ' ἦσαν σπαθῶντες: γρ. τρυφῶντες (p. 52); τέμνει μὲν γὰρ γῆς φλέβες: γρ. σχάζει (p. 57); γῆρας ἰκάνει ὁμοῖον: γρ. τείρει (p. 129) in Epist. 37, 30 in accordance to the Homeric text ἀλλὰ σε γῆρας τείρει ὁμοῖον, *Il.* 4, 314.

Another matter worth mentioning is the inclusion in the collection of a first draft of a letter which Hyrtakenos had planned to send to the Emperor (Epist. 92) and its final version after he

Darmstadt 1980, 629-644. D. Harlfinger, "Autographa aus der Palaiologenzeit", *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. W. Seibt, Vienna 1996, 43-50.

had expanded and improved it stylistically (Epist. 2).<sup>29</sup> There is no doubt of course that both were written by him. One cannot be sure if the draft found its way in the collection as a stray item or if it was selected by the author himself who was also responsible for the selection and the arrangement of his writings in the codex. On the other hand, the author or for that matter the scribe has failed to number Epist. nr. 41 and in another case he has mistakenly attributed Epist. 76 to the Emperor. But these are minor faults which suggest that the text which transmits the correspondence had undergone little in the way of editing or revision. But in the final analysis, who else could have considered the work of Hyrtakenos so important as to preserve it in a relatively expensive codex made of parchment if not the writer himself or someone from his circle?<sup>30</sup>

The contents of the manuscript fall into two main sections: The first (pp. 1-104), includes the orations, the second his letters (pp. 105-164). The arrangement of the orations must have been made on the basis of their content: the purely religious texts are presented first (pp. 1-77), followed by a *prophonema* to the Em-

29. The letter collection of Matthaïos of Ephesos, preserved in Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174, transmits also two identical letters, one representing a first draft (Epist. 66) and the other the final version (Epist. 16). In their case, they are considered of course autographa of Matthaïos of Ephesos; cf. D. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, Berlin 1974, 29; "Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung", 637-638.

30. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit", 373.

peror and a series of monodies (pp. 77-104). Thereafter, follow the collection of the ninety-three letters.

*The edition of Francois Jean Gabriel de La Porte du Theil (1742-1815)*

F.J.G. La Porte du Theil, a curator of the Bibliotheque Nationale, made little effort to edit his transcription. As a result, the edition of Theodoros Hyrtakenos' correspondence contains several errors and omissions. But what renders his edition to be virtually worthless is a great number of typographical mistakes both in spelling and accentuation.

We have no details concerning the history of the codex, its provenance, previous owners or the circumstances under which it passed into the manuscript collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale.

## PROSOPOGRAPHY

### Akropolites (Epist. 46)

It concerns Konstantinos Akropolites (PLP 520), the son of Georgios Akropolites, to whom Hyrtakenos refers in his letter as if he had known him quite well (1. 3ff). The addressee had a brilliant career first as *logothetes tou genikou* (1282-ca. 1294) and then as *megas logothetes* (1305/06- 1321). About the chronology of the letter there is no indication at all. It seems that the two men had been close friends in their youth, but after the death of Georgios Akropolites (1282) they had drifted apart.

Cf. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note", *DOP* 19 (1965) 249-256.

Alexios Apokaukos  
(Epist. 69)

The letter does not contain any specific information concerning Apokaukos life and career (PLP 1180), beyond the fact that he had been a good student of Hyrtakenos, endowed with a good memory as to be able to recite Homer by heart. There is, however, an interesting detail which is worth mentioning, although it is clothed in obscure language. As a youth, Hyrtakenos recalls, Apokaukos did not spend his free time in reveling, but he preferred the attendance of religious ceremonies. He also did not visit the imperial court, but he would go there to be only introduced to the Emperors (69, 27-31). This last detail, perhaps, is significant, because it leads us to suppose that Alexios Apokaukos social status allowed him to have access to the palace. Yet both Ioannes Kantakouzenos (Hist., I. 4, p. 25; I. 23, p. 116 ἄνδρα γένους μὲν ἀφανοῦς ὄντα) and Nikephoros Gregoras (Historia, VIII. 4, p. 301: οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὐ πᾶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἦν) considered his family background obscure and unimportant.<sup>31</sup> The letter must have been written about the time that Apokaukos was raised to the rank of *parakoimomenos* (June 1321) by Andronikos III. It is a congratulatory letter which Hyrtakenos sent in the hope of securing the good will of his former student.

31. B. Georgiadou, «Καὶ προδότης σαφῆς καθιστάμενος: Σχετικά μετὴν κοινωνικῆ προέλευση καὶ ἀπήχηση τοῦ Μεγάλου Δουκὸς Ἀλεξίου Ἀποκαύκου (1281/2-1-345)», *Γ' Πανελλήνιο Ἱστορικό Συνέδριο (Μάιος 1989)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1989, 75-85.

[Andronikos II Palaiologos]

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

(Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 58-59, 64, 75, 83-84, 88-89, 92)

The fifteen letters addressed to the Emperor bear in the superscription the designation τῷ βασιλεῖ and only in one case τῷ κραταιῷ ἁγίῳ βασιλεῖ (Epist. 53). It should be noted that Epist. 76 was sent to an imperial official and not the Emperor. The designation in the superscription τῷ βασιλεῖ is obviously a scribal error. In most of his letters Hyrtakenos described his financial plight, the denial of his students to pay their tuition, his desperate attempts to secure a government grant, sending petitions for help to the Emperor, the *megas logothetes* and to former students some of whom were high ranking officials. We presume that all fifteen letters were addressed to Andronikos II. Because content and style do not permit any differentiation. Half are somewhat lengthy (Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 88, 92), the other half amount to short notices (Epist. 58-59, 64, 75 83-84, 89). Several bear the exact same *prosphonema* – τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὁ δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου – yet it is difficult to assign them a chronology. Epist. 34 mentions next to the Emperor a joint Emperor (ζῶντος μὲν σύ, βασιλεῦ, συζῶν δὲ βασιλεὺς), whom we conclude to be Michael IX, who ruled with his father until his death in 1320. Another three short letters (Epist. 75, 83, 88) accompanied a gift of the fruit pomegranate which Hyrtakenos sent to the palace when Andronikos III married Eirene von Braunschweig (23 October 1317) wishing them soon to have a male heir to the throne (ca. 1318). There is

also another letter addressed to the Emperor (Epist. 92) which is in effect a copy of Epist. 1. This copy can signify one of two things: that Hyrtakenos sent it to Andronikos III changing only slightly the text or that the letter has been simply misplaced in the collection. The presence of two slightly variant texts suggests a stylistic revision which some of the letters of the collection underwent before they were published.

Andronikos Palaiologos  
(Epist. 15)

The addressee in the title is designated as cousin of the emperor. It has been proposed that implied is Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos, the son of the *sebastokrator* Konstantinos (PLP 21439) and nephew of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, a cousin of the Emperor Andronikos II.<sup>32</sup> If this identification is correct, then Epist 15 is one of the earliest in the collection because the recipient died sometime after 1310. In his letter, however, Hyrtakenos wishes that he could have wings to fly over mountains and seas and come to Albania to be near the addressee. After such niceties he concludes his letter reminding him to send him a horse as he had promised him – for that matter an Albanian horse. In view of these details, it is logical to assume that the recipient was the cousin of the Em-

32. G. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228-229.

peror Andronikos III, governor of Belgrade (Berat) in Albania during 1327-1328, Palaiologos Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas (PLP 21435). Hyrtakenos' letter must have been written in 1328, that is during the reign of Andronikos III because the addressee is called in the inscription cousin of the Emperor being implied the younger Andronikos Palaiologos.

Cf. A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen (1259-1453)*, Munich 1938, 31.

Bardales  
(Epist. 29-30)

An identification of the recipient, a former student of Hyrtakenos, is not possible (PLP 2177). He was in the service of a highly placed official and was asked by Hyrtakenos to intervene on his behalf – to help him feed his starving horse, a theme employed in Epist. 29-30 and elsewhere. Perhaps he could be identified with one of the two Bardales' brothers, Ioannes, an *apographeus*, owner of manuscripts and correspondent of Platanudes (PLP 2182) or Leon, a *protasekretis* (PLP 2183), who were certainly contemporaries with Hyrtakenos and maintained close ties with well known personalities of the period in their capacity as government officials and men of letters. According to I. Ševčenko, "Léon Bardales et les juges généraux", *Byz* 19 (1949) 247-259, esp. 255, n. 5, Leon Bardales was the recipient of Hyrtakenos' letters.

Basileios Glykys  
(Epist. 67, 87, 93)

Only Epist. 87 specifically mentions the full name of the recipient in the superscription. The other two are simply addressed to «the son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys». But there is little doubt that these were as well addressed to him. Basileios had been a student of Hyrtakenos, and this is mentioned at some length in all three. In fact it was this teacher – student relationship that Hyrtakenos tried to exploit. In Epist. 67 he asked him to help him to become holder of one of the many small monasteries in the region of Kyzikos, a request that he had already submitted to his father, the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys, but had not yet received an answer. Glykys's efforts to help his teacher proved fruitless (we assume in connection with his desire to receive a monastery as *charistikion*) and on this occasion was written Epist. 87 in which Hyrtakenos asked him again for his help. At another time he asked Glykys to secure him with the help of the Patriarch an imperial *siteresion* in return for his teaching (Epist. 93). It seems that during this period Hyrtakenos had planned to give up his profession in order to enter the monastic life, but the Emperor had ordered him to continue to educate the youth. As to the actual dating of the letters there is little evidence beyond the fact that all three were written during the patriarchate of Ioannes Glykys (1315-1319). It is quite significant that the last letter of the collection (Epist. 93) dates from this period. But as we have pointed out the letters of Hyrtakenos have not been arranged in strict chronological order.

S. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκὺς», *ΕΕΒΕ* 41 (1974) 347-353.

Doukaïtes  
(Epist. 12)

The identification of this person remains unclear. By this name we know a correspondent of the Patriarch Gregorios Kyprios (PLP 5668), a companion of Theodoros Metochites during an embassy to the Serbian court in 1298 (PLP 5669) and the addressee to whom Hyrtakenos introduced a certain priest in need of support (PLP 5670).

Cf. D. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, 205.

Galesiotes  
(Epist. 52)

The addressee must be identified with Georgios Galesiotes (PLP 3258), the *protekdikos* (ca. 1310-1334) and *sakellios* (1334?-1357) of the Megales Ekklesias, a correspondent of Manuel Gabalas, Georgios Oinaïotes and Theodoros Xanthopoulos, author of several works and a protégé of Georgios Kyprios. Hyrtakenos called him most wise and obviously valued his literary judgment. About the poetic work he had sent him earlier requesting his opinion and

suggestions we have no information at all. But perhaps it is the same work as the one he sent to Konstantinos Loukites – an encomion to a philosopher composed in two hundred and fifty verses (Epist. 37.31-32). The date of composition of the letter cannot be established – perhaps it was written sometime after 1310.

S. Kourouses, «Ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία καὶ ἡ πρῶτος σταδιοδρομία τοῦ πρωτεκδίκου καὶ εἶτα σακελλίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας Γεωργίου Γαλησιώτου (1278/80-1375;);», Ἀθηνᾶ 75 (1974-1975) 335-374, esp. 373.

Ioannes Glykys  
(Epist. 3-4)

The recipient is the Patriarch Ioannes XIII Glykys (PLP 4271), whom Hyrtakenos twice tried to visit in the patriarchal residence but without success, as he recounts in Epist. 3. The front entrance was closed and he could not go up the stairs of the building. He came back two weeks later to visit him but he was denied the entrance. The second letter was evidently sent in view of his failure to secure an audience and in order to underline his wish to communicate with the Patriarch if not in person at least in writing. Both letters date from the period of Glykys' patriarchate (1315-1319).

S. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκὺς», 297-405.

Ioannes Kantakouzenos  
(Epist. 54-55)

The two letters were written in the eve of a military campaign against the Turks in Asia Minor headed by the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos (PLP 10973). Hyrtakenos took the opportunity to send in writing his best wishes for a victorious expedition. In his second letter he repeats the same theme as in the first – the grand domestic will put the enemy to flight – but in greater length and in a more laudatory tone. The two letters do not disclose any significant details about this campaign which is not recorded in any other contemporary source. In view of the silence of the sources (including the history of Ioannes Kantakouzenos) it is more likely that the expedition never took place or if it was launched it had ended in a disaster. Actually Hyrtakenos wrote about the great victories he expected to hear when the armies will cross the Hellespont and the need to have a second Homer to record them – he did not mention any victorious events. The title of the grand domestic, which appears not only in the superscription of the two letters, but also in their text, was awarded to Kantakouzenos during the civil war of the two Andronikoi, that is around 1325, which is a terminus post quem for the chronology of the two letters.

D.M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, Cambridge 1966, 23-24, con-



nected the two letters with a military expedition against the Osmanlis in Bithynia in 1325, which Ioannes Kantakouzenos led in his capacity as grand domestic. In an earlier article D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos", *DOP* 27 (1973) 40 had proposed that the actual draft of the two letters took place between the years 1325-1327, that is during the brief joint reign of Andronikos II and Andronikos III or even later in 1329 when Kantakouzenos fought against the Turks at the battle of Pelekanos. In both letters Hyrtakenos mentions the βασιλεῖς to whom Kantakouzenos was expected to hand over his victories, but his reference alone does not help us to establish a date: δούλην τὴν Περσίδα παραστήσειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι (Epist. 54, 23); ζυγῷ δουλείας ὑποξευγνύντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν (Epist. 55, 37).

Konstantinos Loukites  
(Epist. 37, 40-41, 56, 73, 78, 85)

The seven letters addressed to Konstantinos Loukites (PLP 15153) in Trebizond occupy a rather special place in this collection. Loukites, a Macedonian by origin may have left the Queen of Cities to settle in the Greek Empire of the Pontus at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, possibly in 1301.<sup>33</sup> The year

33. From a letter of Gregorios Chioniades to Konstantinos Loukites written in or shortly after September 1301 it is concluded that Loukites had accompanied Alexios II of Trebizond in a campaign against the Turks in the region of Kerasous. I.B. Papadopoulos, «Γρηγόριος ὁ

of his settlement there is significant, because it provides us with one of the earliest chronological indication regarding Hyrtakenos' school. At any rate, Loukites must have begun his career there first as *protonotarios* then advancing to the office of *protovestiaris* (1330-1336). His involvement in the political and cultural life of Trebizond is attested by other contemporary sources that relate more directly to the history of the Greek State of Pontus. Hyrtakenos' letters however do not contain any tangible events that would allow us to place them within a given period. His first letter to him may be Epist. 41 because he complains that he had not seen him and not corresponded with him for a very long time.

Yet, Loukites seem to have maintained his contacts in Constantinople, especially with his family and relatives. He had entrusted his messages and the management of his business to a certain Paul (PLP 22085), who, as far as we can tell from Hyrtakenos' correspondence, he served as his emissary on at least two occasions (Epist. 37,9 and 56,41). On both occasions Paul made the trip from Trebizond to Constantinople and back by sea, which was the normal way to make the journey. The shipwreck of a cargo ship departing from Trebizond and the drowning of Anemas who was bringing gifts for Hyrtakenos from Loukites is mentioned in Epist. 40 and in its follow up Epist. 37. At any rate, about Paul's first trip to the Capital we have no de-

Χιονιάδης καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτοῦ,» *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 1 (1927) 176-177, 196-197. D. Pingree, "Gregory Chioniades", *DOP* 18 (1964) 141-143.

tails at all. But on his way back, he carried Epist. 37 in which Hyrtakenos asked Loukites to send him a black coat with a fox-fur lining together with a black silk robe (Epist. 37.23-24). As an *antidoron* Hyrtakenos sent him a poetic work dedicated to a philosopher (a contemporary of his?) which he composed in two hundred fifty verses. This opuscle, however, does not seem to have survived. At another of his trips, Paul brought from Loukites to Hyrtakenos twelve *nomismata* of gold. On this trip, Paul had been commissioned to buy for Loukites certain items that were probably not easily obtainable in the markets of Trebizond. Loukites first and foremost wanted to buy a copy of Homer's *Odyssey* and expected that Hyrtakenos would assist Paul in finding a good copy. He wanted also to buy incense, musk and fish roe (Epist. 56.49-53).<sup>34</sup> But from Hyrtakenos' reply we learn that there was barely enough time for finding in Constantinople a copy of the *Odyssey*, because Paul had to sail back soon. As for incense, Hyrtakenos found only one liter and no musk at all. Fish roe, likewise could not be found in Constantinople, because mullets (κέφαλοι) were not fished that particular season. Was it just an accident that such goods as incense, musk and fish roe were not available at all or their scarcity reflects the over all economic situation of the Capital at this particular time?

34. When the sea was stormy in Trebizond and fish could not be caught, at Loukites' time fish roe was brought from the land of the Chazars; cf. A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini*, St. Petersburg 1897, 133, 7-9: τῆς θαλάττης ἀγριουμένης, ἰχθῦς μὲν οὐκ ἦν εὐρεῖν θαλαττίους, πᾶν δὲ γένος ταριχευτῶν ἐκ Χαζάρων ἡγμένων παρῆν.

Be that as it may, in Epist. 73 Hyrtakenos praises the writing style of his former student and his professional success in Trebizond – this might be in fact one of the earliest letters of Hyrtakenos to Loukites. Then follows a period of silence and a letter of complaints that he has been forgotten (Epist. 78), reminding his former student of his debt to him as a teacher and bringing up as an example Alexander of Macedon and his dedication to his teacher. At the end he asked him to send him a dress as a gift, a *kamcha* called in Persian. The last letter in this group is Epist. 85 in which he acknowledged the arrival of a letter which revived his spirits at a time he had felt dejected. The seven letters cannot be dated with any certainty, but they may have been written around 1318 or even earlier.

G. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 224-226

Manuel  
(Epist. 79)

An identification of the recipient (PLP 16734), a judge (κριτής) is not possible. Hyrtakenos was obviously involved in a lawsuit and asked the judge to resolve the case in the best possible way.

[Nikephoros Choumnos]

(Epist. 5-7, 28, 77, 86, 91)

All seven letters are addressed τῷ κανικλείῳ, but there is no doubt at all that implied is Nikephoros Choumnos, who was raised to the office of the «prefect of the scriptorium» around 1295 and kept it to the end of his life in 1327 (PLP 30961).

Epist. 5-7 were written a short while after the publication of Choumnos' discourse «On the Soul» in which he attacked the teachings of Plato and Plotinus creating a considerable sensation in the intellectual circles of the Capital by the force of his arguments. The discourse, as it becomes clear from Epist. 5, was presented for the first time by Choumnos before a scholarly audience in which Hyrtakenos was also present. His three letters to Choumnos supposedly reflect the comments and the discussions that ensued after the lecture. It was agreed that such a work should be copied and distributed so that it may be preserved to posterity. Hyrtakenos grasped the opportunity to write him first in order to prove not only his interest in this philosophical treatise but also his loyalty to him.

Epist. 6 presents a continuation of No. 5: Choumnos sent to Hyrtakenos his work to be copied. Yet he kept the manuscript longer than it was probably agreed thus prompting a complaint on the part of the author. Epist. 6 is a response to Choumnos' complaint. His excuse for being overdue is not very convincing. Yet he was ready to return the manuscript and even asked Choumnos to send a trustworthy person to come and take it back. Epist. 7 deals essentially with the same subject as Epist. 6:

Hyrtakenos has read the discourse «On the Soul» by Choumnos and is convinced of his superiority over Plato and Plotinus. However, the dating of this work has not been yet established with any certainty. J. Verpeaux has suggested the period between 1315-1319, supporting this chronology on the basis of Hyrtakenos' correspondence, which he believes that it covers in its totality the period of Glykys' patriarchate. So he proposed for this work as well as for the other philosophical treatises of Choumnos a general dating around the year 1315 without any proof.

The second part of Epist. 6 is about a horse that was given to him by the Emperor and which he could no longer afford to feed. The situation of this starving horse has been described in a great number of letters and it has been developed into a topos by Hyrtakenos (cf. also Epist. 7, 28). Interestingly enough from Epist. 6-7 we learn that Hyrtakenos had access to the imperial court in his capacity as a teacher and the fact that the Emperor took a personal interest in him (Epist. 7,35ff) implies that he enjoyed some recognition.

Yet the situation he describes in Epist. 77 is different. The cause of his hardships is that he does not receive any support from his students, although they were rich and could afford to give him a salary. He, therefore, proposes to Choumnos to secure for him imperial patronage.

The last two letters (Epist. 86, 91) deal with two works that Hyrtakenos borrowed from Choumnos of which only one can be identified. The first was returned accompanied by Epist. 86, in which Hyrtakenos says that he shared the text of Choumnos

with others. The second concerns a discourse dedicated to Moses. Verpeaux identified this with an unedited work in which Choumnos mentions the splendor of the Revelation that God presented to Moses. This work has been dated also around 1315.<sup>35</sup>

J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos. Homme d'État et humaniste byzantin (ca 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris 1959, 55, 124.

Nikephoros Metochites  
(Epist. 42, 44, 49, 71)

Son of the grand logothete Theodoros Metochites and close associate of Andronikos III Palaiologos (PLP 17986). In his youth he had been a student of Hyrtakenos and Epist. 19 addressed to his father perhaps concerns his progress at our author's school.<sup>36</sup> There are no chronological indications in these four letters which deal with various requests of Hyrtakenos: the granting of a cloak (Epist. 49), a shaped cap (Epist. 71), the mediation on his behalf for some favour (Epist. 44) and the like. Stressed in the

35. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, 18, no. VII, and 55.

36. Nikephoros Metochites was taught also by Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia*, I, 309, 15-17: ἐδίδασκον γὰρ τὸν τε υἱέα καὶ ἦν ἔφαμεν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, τὰ τῶν θύραθεν καὶ ἡμετέρων βιβλίων αἰνιγματώδη καὶ γρίφα διαλευκαίνων.

letters is also the philosophical training of the addressee, although there is nothing concrete mentioned pertaining to his interests or his intellectual activities. Epist. 71 bears in the superscription besides the name of the addressee the designation «to the son of the grand logothete», which may imply a chronology posterior to his father's nomination to office in 1321.

Nikolaos  
(Epist. 27)

The addressee is otherwise unknown (PLP 20391). He was about to take up the monastic habit and join a community of monks which had broken off from the body of the Church. Hyrtakenos calls this group *αὐτόνομοι* and *αὐθαίρετοι* and advised Nikolaos not to join it. There is no other evidence about the identity of this monastic community which is also described as a faction (*κόμμα* 1. 6). Perhaps Hyrtakenos referred to an Arsenite faction which was not pacified with the established Church at the time he wrote his letter.

Opsikianos  
(Epist. 45)

The recipient cannot be certainly identified (PLP 21209). Yet there are at least two individuals by this name who lived about this period – Demetrios (PLP 21212) and Ioannes Opsikianos (PLP

21213). The first is known to us from a series of letters addressed to him by Michael Gabras and seems to have occupied an important government position.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, Ioannes Opsikianos was a correspondent of Georgios Oinaïotes and seems to have possessed a good library. Among its holdings there were included two works of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys for which Oinaïotes showed a particular interest.<sup>38</sup>

Patrikiotes  
(Epist. 47)

Hyrtakenos had asked the addressee for a supply of grain and he in return referred him to a certain Patzopoulos (PLP 22047), who in the meantime died. Patrikiotes may be identified with Theodoros Patrikiotes (PLP 22077), with whom Michael Gabras maintained regular correspondence. From Gabras letters we learn that Patrikiotes was a government official responsible for the collection of taxes (*apographeus*, ἐξισωτής) in Constantinople in the period 1319/20-1342,<sup>39</sup> a fact to which also Hyrtakenos seems to allude in his letter (1. 9-10), and had some scholarly interests, especially for Plutarch. A certain Patrikiotes appears also

37. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, p. 39.

38. E. Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung*, [Annales Académie Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, XIV, 2], Helsinki 1915, p. 74.

39. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, p. 63.

as a patron of Manuel Philes.<sup>40</sup> It is possible that we are dealing with one and the same person, the tax official Patrikiotes, whose patronage and support had sought not only Philes and Gabras, but also Hyrtakenos.

Pepagomenos  
(Epist. 48, 51)

An earlier letter of Hyrtakenos to the addressee (PLP 22341), whom he knew as a youth, had caused a misunderstanding, on account of which Epist. 48 was written as an apology. The text makes it clear however that Hyrtakenos was considerably older than him. The second letter (epist. 51) – addressed to the same Pepagomenos(?) – was accompanied by a work of Hyrtakenos dedicated to the honour of the Theotokos. We assume that Hyrtakenos had sent his oration Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτείαν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀκαταμάχῃτου (Boissonade III, 1-58). The addressee cannot be identified with any certainty, for this is a rather common family name during this period (cf. PLP 22341). But it is worth mentioning that among the addressees of Michael Gabras figures the name of a certain Georgios Pepagomenos (PLP 22357), who may be identified with the *megas ekklesiarches* Pepagomenos to whom Gabras had sent one of his works. Yet Hyr-

40. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, p. 189, 202-208, 210-213, 226, 259, 331.

takenos' addressee does not appear to have been an ecclesiastic, therefore this identification proposed in PLP 22341 seems rather unlikely.

Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, pp. 41-42; P. Schreiner, "Eine griechische Grabinschrift aus dem Jahr 1186 in Corridonia. Mit einem Anhang über die Pëpagomenoi", *JÖB* 20 (1971) 158, No. 12.

Phialites  
(Epist. 24, 25)

His identity cannot be otherwise established. From Epist. 24 we conclude that he was employed as a secretary in the imperial court. Perhaps he had been a student of Hyrtakenos. On another occasion Phialites requested some unspecified work of Hyrtakenos which he revised it before he sent it (Epist. 25). Among the correspondents of Michael Gabras figures the name of a certain Theodoros Phialites who was interested in the works of Lucian (PLP 29715). Fatouros, "Die Briefe des Michael Gabras", I, p. 64, II, 273-275, 308, 641.

Phokas  
(Epist. 10, 26, 60, 72)

The addressee is otherwise unknown (PLP 30212). He was a stu-

dent of Hyrtakenos who reminded him (Epist. 10) that he should sustain him in his old age like the storks sustain their parents – a reference to the old topos of *antipelargosis*. The addressee was obviously employed in the imperial chancellery because Hyrtakenos sent two writing-pens made of reed to be used by the Emperor for signing his decrees (Epist. 26). Perhaps he can be identified with Konstantinos Phokas (PLP 30233), a correspondent of Michael Gabras.<sup>41</sup> The association of Hyrtakenos' addressee with Konstantinos Phokas seems probable because both men were government officials employed in the imperial court (Epist. 26, 1ff, 72, 2-4; Cf. also Epist. 254, 257 of Gabras, ed. Fatouros, I, 51; II, 410-411, 4 13).

Skleros  
(Epist. 23)

The identity of the addressee cannot be established. From the superscription we learn that he was a γραμματικός πατριαρχικός. Fatouros suggested that he may be identified with Ioannes Skleros (PLP 26113) to whom Michael Gabras addressed two letters dated about 1308.

Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, p. 48; II, 62, 81. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*, Vienna 1976, 111.

41. Cf. also S.I. Kourouses, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς εἵτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου* (1271/2 -1355/60), Athens 1972, 35, n. 6.

## Theodoros Metochites

(Epist. 8-9, 11, 16-22, 35-36, 38-39, 57, 62, 65-66, 74, 81, 90)

The letters addressed to Theodoros Metochites (PLP 17982) designate him in the superscription either with his name and the title of *megas logothetes*, an office he held in the years 1321-1328, or simply with his title only as in the case of Epist. 8, 35, 38, 57, 81, 90. In the latter case, the question arises whether these letters were addressed to another grand logothete, for instance, Konstantinos Akropolites who was raised to this dignity in 1294 after the death of Theodoros Mouzalon and kept it until 1321. Yet, there is only one letter addressed to Konstantinos Akropolites (Epist. 46) and the impression one gets from its content is that the two men from early on they had drifted apart despite Hyrtakenos' attempt to revive their friendship. It seems that behind the title of the grand logothete at the heading of this group of letters (Epist. 8, 35, 38, 57, 81, 90) implied is Theodoros Metochites. The compiler of the collection – most likely Hyrtakenos himself – thought proper to address Metochites with his prestigious administrative title, even if his letters to him predated his advancement. Besides at the time Hyrtakenos was preparing for publication his collection of writings there was no other grand logothete besides Metochites.

But were they all written after Metochites was named to his office in 1321? In fact, with his title he is mentioned only in Epist. 16 and 21, an indication that the two letters were written for certain after 1321.<sup>42</sup> Those, however, that Hyrtakenos wrote in

42. Epist. 74 seems to date also after 1321 because Hyrtakenos re-

connection with the teaching of Metochites' children date much earlier. These letters could be placed chronologically around 1310 (Epist. 19, 35, 62, 74).<sup>43</sup> For the rest of his correspondence there are no hints that would provide us with a relatively secure chronology.

The main subject of the letters is, of course, Hyrtakenos' perpetual poverty and his constant efforts to secure imperial patronage because his pupils and their parents did not pay him for his services. (Epist. 8, 38, 39, 66, 81). Time and again he described his material privations – during a harvest he asked for grain because his vessels were empty and the lack of bread had taken hold of him (Epist. 8, 36, 39). He often complained that those who had attained good fortune had overlooked him (Epist. 57). The fact that he worked for the rich but without getting any benefit frustrated him. He contemplated therefore to change his profession, an idea that briefly is mentioned in Epist. 9, but which recurs also in subsequent letters. Whether the situation described in Epist. 16, according to which, he became a farmer

minds Metochites that his predecessors in the office, Mouzalon and Choumnos, had secured an imperial *siteresion* to two other teachers Chalkomatopoulos and Hyaleas.

43. The sons of the grand logothete, Nikephoros (PLP 17986) and Demetrios Metochites (PLP 17980), were adults in the 1320's and in contact with Andronikos III when he was scheming against his grandfather. A third son, Michael (PLP 17985), had become a provincial governor in Melenikon by 1326 and his brother Demetrios likewise in Serres in 1328. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 221-222.

until he faced bankruptcy, should be taken at face value we cannot be sure. The story dramatizes actually the same situation that is repeated invariably in most of his letters to powerful friends. In Epist. 20 he asked the grand logothete to help him obtain a land holding in the region of Nymphaion. He was probably the owner of some land if we interpret correctly some of the inferences he makes in his correspondence – that at the time of harvest when everybody is busy reaping the fruits of his labour, his vessels are empty (Epist. 8-9, 36). But the help he begs for is not as a farmer who faces famine, but as an impoverished teacher.

Metochites as a fellow servant of Hermes, as he put it, should intervene on his behalf with the Emperor (Epist. 90). Yet, the grand logothete appears to have helped him on more than one occasion (Epist. 20, 36, 65). His petition, however, to be exempted from military service as he was drafted to serve under an uncivilized decurion is both curious and problematic (Epist. 22). If he was serious about his draft then he was not yet an old man destitute and in need of support from students and friends alike as he describes himself in a number of his letters.

Hyrtakenos' intellectual pursuits and interests seldom come up in his correspondence, save only those instances in which he requests a specific work in order to read or copy it (cf. Epist. 5-7, 86, 91). Yet one is not sure whether it was out of interest or as a way to flatter and eventually gain the favour of the author. In the case of Metochites there is only one instance in which he asked for the sending of an unspecified work which he had heard and wanted to read (Epist. 18). Nevertheless we have no details

that would help us to establish the kind of relationship that existed between the two men. Whatever their relationship might have been, Metochites had also asked Hyrtakenos to secure for him a copy of a work of Aristotle that belonged to a certain Choniates (Epist. 11). In the very few letters of the collection that do not deal with the personal problems of Hyrtakenos belongs also Epist. 21. The letter was sent to Metochites on behalf of a certain physician named Baragkatos, whose son-in-law had abandoned his wife because he had not received a dowry as it was promised to him.

Ἄνδρι εὐγενεῖ Ἀκαρνάνι ῥήτορι καὶ σοφῷ  
(Epist. 50)

Addressee unknown. Hyrtakenos complained that this Akarnanian "noble" sent him a simple and pedestrian message, written even by someone else's hand, and that it was not befitting a scholar living in the Queen of Cities to receive such letters.

Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοφάτῃ  
(Epist. 14)

Addressee unknown. His title suggests that he belonged to the clergy of the imperial palace. About his rank in the church hierarchy, as a *δομέστικος τῶν ψαλτῶν*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 143-152, 190, 4, 308, 22, 338, 356, 19. K.M. Rhalle, «Περὶ



τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πρωτοφάλτου», *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 11 (1936) 66-69. J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les Ὁφφίκια de l'église Byzantine*, 298, n. 1, 539.

Τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων  
(Epist. 31)

Addressee unknown. Perhaps to be identified with Georgios Chatzikes (PLP 30724) who was raised to this office around the year 1321 and earlier had served as *prokathemenos tou koitonos* (1305-1310). The Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (1315-1319), who also occupied the same office but at an earlier time (1282-1295/6) does not come into question. Otherwise the letter would document the relations of the two men before 1300. The addressee was asked to persuade Radenos (PLP 23984), a former student of Hyrtakenos and at the time an official at the imperial court, to grant his teacher a garment. The addressee was obviously a colleague of Radenos at the court and probably of the same age.

For the office of the *epi ton deeseon*, the official responsible for collecting the petitions addressed to the Emperor, see Pseudo - Kodinos, ed. J. Verpeaux, 162,9, 183, 24-27. 301,2. R. Guiland, "Le maitre des requêtes", *Byz* 35 (1965) 97-118, esp. 109-110.

Τῷ μεγάλῳ διοικητῇ  
(Epist. 43)

The letter may have been addressed to Theodoros Kabasilas (PLP 10090) who held this office from 1316 to at least until 1327. Hyrtakenos' statement about his old age – an often repeated theme in his correspondence (cf. Epist. 67 to Basileios Glykys) – coincides with the period during which Theodoros Kabasilas held this post. A high government official with literary tastes, Theodoros Kabasilas corresponded with Nikephoros Choumnos, Michael Gabras and Manuel Gabalas.

S. Kourouses, «Ὁ μέγας διοικητὴς Θεόδωρος Καβάσιλας καὶ ἡ εἰς Ἀνδρόνικον Β' (+ 1332) μονωδία αὐτοῦ», *ΕΕΒΣ* 42 (1975-1976) 408-428, esp. 410. For the office of the *megas dioiketes*, see Pseudo - Kodinos, ed. J. Verpeaux, 138,36, 301,31, 306,6. Yet, his title in the later period was devoid of any functions, *ibid.*, 185,15, although in the early Palaeologan period he served as a tax official.

Τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁρους  
(Epist. 13, 61)

Probably to be identified with Isaak Protos of Mount Athos during the years 1316-1345 (PLP 8261).<sup>44</sup> The two letters were writ-

44. Cf. J. Darrouzès, "Liste des prôtos de l'Athos", *Le millénaire du Mont Athos* (963-1963), *Étude et Mélanges*, I, Chevetogne 1963, 423-426.

ten on two different occasions and in a different spirit and style. In the first Hyrtakenos acknowledged with warmth and gratitude the receipt of various gifts sent to him by the addressee. In the second he announced his intention becoming a monk in the Holy Mountain. He would settle there if he would find a resting place, otherwise he will stay at home. A date cannot be postulated for the two letters.

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιάριου  
(Epist. 63, 68, 70, 82)

Hyrtakenos considered him as the only one who could convince the Emperor to put him in the payroll of the government as a teacher (Epist. 63) and at least on one occasion the addressee must have responded to his request (Epist. 68). The letters focus on Hyrtakenos' financial plight and yet they do not contain any chronological indications except for the last which was written on new year's day (Epist. 82). There is only one official that comes into question – Ioannes Kanaboures, holder of this title around the year 1315 (PLP 10865). He was a correspondent of Michael Gabras (Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, 49-50; II, 73, 75, 107, 191) and probably a patron of Manuel Philes who dedicated to him a series of epigrams.

For the office of the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 139,6, 165,1-4, 186,13-17.

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ κοιτῶνος  
(Epist. 80)

There are two officials that held this office during this period: Georgios Chatzikes (PLP 30724), a correspondent of Michael Gabras (Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, 40; II, 44, 82, 428, 497), who occupied this office in the period 1305-1310, and the eunuch Michael Kallikrenites (PLP 10371), who served in the same capacity at a later period from 1321 until 1330/1331. The latter was a faithful supporter and an οἰκεῖος of Andronikos II. He also corresponded with Gabras, (Fatouros, I, 56; II, 84, 356). From the contents of the letter we cannot decide which of the two was the addressee.

For the title and functions of the *prokathemenos tou koitonos*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 139,5; 186,8-12, 301,21-22.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Akropolites, *Epistole*: Constantino Acropolita *Epistole*, ed. R. Romano, Napoli 1991.
- BS: *Byzantinoslavica*
- Byz: *Byzantion*
- BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- Choniates, *Epistulae*: Michaelis Choniatae *Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou, [CFHB, Series Berolinensis - XLI], Berlin 2001.
- CPG: E. Leutsch - F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1839-1851; rp. Hildesheim 1958.
- ΕΕΒΣ: *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
- Gabras, *Briefe*: G. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, [Wiener Byzantinistische Studien - X/1-2], Vienna 1973.
- Hotop: A. Hotop, *De Eustathii Proverbiis*, Leipzig 1888.
- Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Literatur*: H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols., [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.5.1], Munich 1978.
- JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- Karathanasis: D. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates sowie in anderen rhetorischen Quellen des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1936.
- Michael Italikos: Michel Italikos *Lettres et Discours*, ed. P. Gautier, Paris 1972.
- ODB: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. A. Kazhdan, New York - Oxford 1991.

Planudes, *Epistulae*: *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. P.A. Leone, [Classical and Byzantine Monographs, 18], Amsterdam 1991.

PLP: *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna 1976-1996.

Pseudo-Kodinos: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966.

Salzmann: E. Salzmann, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Libanios*, Tübingen 1910.

Strömberg: R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs*, Göteborg 1954.

Synesius, *Epistolae*: *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya, Rome 1979.

Tzetzes: *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, ed. P.L.M. Leone, Leipzig, B.G. Teubner, 1972.

Verpeaux: J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos: Home d'Etat et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris 1959.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

α'  
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

## 1. To the Emperor

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὁ δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας  
 βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. Ἐγώ, παιδιόθεν ἐκδεδο-  
 μένος μουσείοις ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι προσωδίαις, οὔτ' ἤδιν οὔ τι  
 5 ποτ' εἶσιν οὔθ' ὅ τι τοῦνομα βεβούλητο ταύταις, ὥμην δὲ προ-  
 σόδους καὶ κέρδη. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ παιδευόμενος ἔχαιρον καὶ  
 σπουδῇ προσεῖχον αὐταῖς, αὐτὸς ἐγώ τε καταδοκῶν δνήσε-  
 σθαι καὶ οὐς προσεδόκων παιδεύειν. ἐπαιδευόμενῃ δὲ καὶ σι-  
 τοδείαν, οὔδ' αὐτὴν ταύτην εἰδὼς οἷα τις οὔθ' ὅπως ποτ' ἔστιν  
 10 ἔχουσα φύσιν. τρεφομένη γὰρ τοῖς πατράσιν ἀπόνως οὐκ  
 ἔνδειάν μοι σίτου καὶ σπάνιν, ὅπερ ἔστιν, ἐπῆρει λογίζεσθαι,  
 πρᾶγμα δέ τι κοῦφον καὶ ῥᾶον ὑπενεγκεῖν ἢ γὰρ ἂν εἰδὼς  
 τάχ' ἂν καὶ τοῦ βιβλίου θάττον ἀπήλειψα καὶ τὸ σύμφορον  
 προενόησα.

15 Νυνὶ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας ἑλληκῶς καὶ γέρων γεγωνὺς  
 σιτοφάγος ἐπιλέλησμαι μὲν προσωδιῶν, συνίσχημαι δὲ σι-  
 τοδείᾳ· καὶ τό γε πρὸ πείρας δοκοῦν κοῦφον εἰς πείραν ἔχον

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God di-  
 vine majesty, my holy Lord. From childhood I was entrusted to  
 be trained in prosody in school, not knowing what prosody was  
 all about nor what were the names ascribed to the different me-  
 ters, for I was thinking only about earnings and profits coming  
 from them. I was therefore cheerful while in training, devoting  
 myself to their study with zeal, awaiting ■ benefit for both my-  
 self and those that I would teach. But I was also learning the  
 meaning of starvation, not knowing what she is like nor how she  
 was as a creature. Because being brought up by my parents with-  
 out any stress I was not in need of bread nor had I faced any  
 scarcity of food, which means that I thought then that starvation  
 was a light matter and easy to endure. For had I known better  
 possibly I would have erased at once the name of starvation from  
 the book and looked after my own interest.

Now having reached this age and becoming an old man ac-  
 customed to eat bread, I have forgotten the prosodies being  
 taken hold by famine. And that which appeared a light matter

1. 15-16 γέρων γεγωνὺς σιτοφάγος: cf. Hom. Od. 9, 191

ἀνιαρόν, ρεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω, φησὶν "Ὅμηρος. ἀλλ' ἦν  
 γεωργία προσεῖχον, τάχ' ἂν καὶ τὰ δεινὰ γε ἄπῃν καὶ  
 20 τὰναγκαῖα παρῇν νυνὶ δέ, γηπονίας ἀπούσης, τοῦτο δὴ σι-  
 τοδεία, τὸ πάντων θηρίων παραπέφυκεν ἐξωλέστατον, καὶ  
 οἷα γαῦρος ταῦρος καταμυκάται τε καὶ καταμωκάται μου.

Ἀλλὰ βρυχήσαιτ' ἂν καὶ λέων, οὐμὸς βασιλεύς, καὶ ταῦρος  
 οὗτος ἔργον γένοιτο βρυχηθμοῦ ἔχει γάρ καὶ φύσιν καὶ τέ-  
 25 χνην ἐξ ἀμηχάνων εὐρεῖν μηχανάς καὶ πόρους ἐν ἀπόροις. οὐ  
 μόνον δ' ἄρα τοιαῦτά με δρᾷ σιτοδεία, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἵππος, ὃ με συμπαθῶς ἐδωρήσω, οἷα καὶ αὐτὸς συνδρᾷν  
 ἀνατείνεται, κατεδηδοκῶς μὲν βιβλία, κατεσπαθηκῶς δὲ θοι-  
 μάτια, οὐδὲ σαρκῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθαι, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ταύτας δια-  
 30 λαφύξειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ χόνδρους διαμασσήσεσθαι καὶ ὅστ' αὖ  
 κατὰξειν καὶ στέαρ ἐκμυελίσειν μὴ γὰρ εὐπορῶν ἀκοστᾶν — τί  
 δ' ἀκοστᾶν φημι, ὅποτε μὴδ' ἀχύροις κούφοις προσπτύειν; —  
 κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Γλαύκου ἐκμέμηνεν, οἷς, παρ' Ἀρκάσι γεγευ-

18 ρεχθὲν — ἔγνω: Hom. Il. 17, 32; Hotop 255 || 21 πάντων — ἐξω-  
 λέστατον: Aristoph. Plut. 442 πενία ..., ἧς οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν πέφυκε ζῶον  
 ἐξωλέστερον || 25 ἐξ ἀμηχάνων — ἀπόροις: cf. Aesch. Prom. 59 δεινὸς γὰρ  
 εὐρεῖν καὶ ἀμηχάνων πόρον; Aristoph. Equ. 759 || 31 στέαρ ἐκμυελίσειν:  
 cf. Num. 24:8 καὶ τὰ πάχη αὐτῶν ἐκμυελεῖ || 33-34 οἷς, παρ' Ἀρκάσι —  
 ἵππομανοῦς: cf. Theocr. Id. 2, 48 ἵππομανὲς φυτόν ἐστι παρ' Ἀρκάσι

before I encountered famine became a grievous one after I  
 gained experience of it: "when it is wrought even a fool getteth  
 understanding", says Homer.<sup>1</sup> But had I devoted myself to the  
 cultivation of the land, perhaps my sufferings would be gone  
 and the essentials for life would be at hand; but now as I am not  
 a farmer I face famine, which is "the most fearful monster that  
 ever drew breath", and like a haughty bull roars against me and  
 mocks me.

But if my Emperor, the lion, would also roar, this bull would  
 vanish at the sound of his roaring; because by his nature and  
 manner the Emperor can find the means in impassable situa-  
 tions and a way out in difficulties. But famine has not driven  
 only me to such despair, your majesty, but has also raged against  
 the horse which you offered me in compassion as a gift, to such  
 a ferocity as to have devoured my books and torn asunder my  
 clothes, and he will not spare even my own flesh, for he is about  
 to tear me to pieces, chew up my tendons and cartilage, shatter  
 my bones and suck the marrow from them. Deprived of good  
 feed — what am I talking, good feed, when he does not even spit  
 a trifle of straw? — he became mad like the horses of Glaukos,  
 which, having tasted an Arcadian plant that makes them furious,

1. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, II, 233.

p. 106

- 35 μένοις ἵππομανοῦς, ἔργον Γλαῦκος γέγονε σπαίραγμοῦ. καὶ  
 μὲν ἀκοστᾶν σχοίη —, εἰ δ' οὖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως μὴ δυοῖν θάτε-  
 ρον, ἢ καταβροχθίσειν ἐμέ ἢ, στατὸς ἀπὸ φάτνης, μικρὸν δι-  
 οίσειν τῶν ἐν γλυφαῖς.

β'  
 Τῷ βασιλεῖ

- Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὁ δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας  
 βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς,  
 παροιμία φησί, καὶ ταῦθ' ἥρως τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀνδρείο-  
 5 τατος καὶ τοσοῦτους καὶ τηλικούτους ἄθλους καταρθωκώς,  
 εἰ μήτοι παῖδες Ἑλλήνων καὶ ποιητῶν μῦθοι, πρὸς χάριν  
 εἰδότες λέγειν, εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην τερατολογοῦσι τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον  
 καὶ ἐκθειάζουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ, μηδέν τοι πρὸς Ἡρακλέα παρα-  
 βαλλόμενος, ποῦ δίκαιος ἂν εἶην δυοῖν ἐξωλεστάτοις θηρίοις  
 10 μαχόμενος, ὅποτε μηδὲ πρὸς ἐν ἐξαρκῶ; σιτοδεία ταῦτα καὶ

34 ἔργον Γλαῦκος — σπαίραγμοῦ: cf. Paus. VI, 20, 19 (150, 23-25  
 Spiro) ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Ταράξιππος Γλαῦκος ὁ Σισύφου· γενέσθαι δὲ  
 αὐτῷ τὴν τελευταίην λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππων; Apostol. 5, 47 (CPG II 345)  
 Γλαῦκος ἄλλος ἱππόβρωτος || 36 στατὸς ἀπὸ φάτνης: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 506;  
 15, 263 στατὸς ἱππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ

2. ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 92 || 3 πρὸς — Ἡρακλῆς: Macar. 7, 42  
 (CPG II 206); Karathanasis 26 || 9 δυοῖν — θηρίοις: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 442  
 Πενία ..., ἥς οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν πέφυκε ζῶον ἐξωλέστερον

tore Glaukos to pieces. But if he would get his feed all will be well  
 — otherwise, one of the two will happen, either he shall gulp me  
 down or, like "a stalled horse that has fed his fill at the manger",<sup>2</sup>  
 he shall not differ from a carved image.

## 2. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God di-  
 vine majesty, my holy Lord. The proverb says that even Heracles  
 was not a match for two, [the Karkinos and Hydra], despite the  
 fact that he was a most valiant hero of the Greeks, having ac-  
 complished so many and great struggles, lest the men of Hellas  
 and the myths of the poets, who know how to entertain in their  
 speech, tell of him absurd tales with no reason, in vain making  
 him into a god. But myself having nothing to be compared to  
 Heracles, how could I be equal to him and fight against two  
 abominable beasts, when I am not strong enough even for one?  
 The two beasts are famine and my horse: the first one does not

2. *Ibid.*, I, 299.

ἵππος· ἡ μὲν, οὐδὲν ἀπειοικυῖα χιμαίρας, οὐ περὶ ἧς Ὅμηρος  
 ἔρραψώδησε, πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χί-  
 μαιρα, θηρίον ἀλλόκοτον, τριφύες τε καὶ τρίμορφον, ἀλλ' ἡ  
 κατεσθίειν οἶδε καὶ συντρίβειν καὶ λεπτύνειν — χρηστέον δὲ  
 15 πάλιν Ὅμηρῳ —, τὰ τε ἔόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἔόντα καὶ  
 τῇ τριμερείᾳ τοῦ βίου διαλυμαίνεσθαι· ὁ δ' ἵππος, ἐπειδὴ μὴδ'  
 αὐτὸς ἐπτέρωται κατὰ Πήγασον μὴδὲ σκιρτᾶν μεμάσθηκεν  
 ἐναέρια μὴδ' ἐπ' ἄκρων ἀνθερίκων θέειν, ὥς οἱ τὴν τοῦ γένους  
 20 σειρὰν ἀπὸ Βορέου κατάγοντες, ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ φάτνης, οὐκ  
 ἀκοστῶν οὐδὲ πηγὸς καὶ τριχώσει χαίρων λεπτῇ, πολλῶν δὲ  
 τοῦναντίον, λειπόκρεως πηγασίμαλλός τε καὶ πεπηγώς  
 ἀντικρυς, καὶ σφοδροῦ βορέου δεόμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἐμπνευσθεὶς  
 κινηθῆναι, τούτῳ μόνῳ Πηγάσῳ προσεοικώς, τῷ γυμνόν με,  
 25 καθὼς ἐκεῖνος Βελλεροφόντην, ἐπὶ νώτων φέρειν ὀχούμενον,  
 κατεσπαθηκώς μοι τὸν βίον — τί λέγω βίον; ὅποτε καὶ σάρ-  
 κας αὐτοῖς ὀστέοις καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἔνδον οἰκονομίαν τῆς φύ-  
 σεως κυνηδὸν διαλαφύξειν ἐπανατείνεται.

12-13 πρόσθε — χιμαίρα: Hom. Il. 6, 181 || 15 τὰ τε — ἔόντα: Hom. Il.  
 1, 70 || 16 τριμερεία τοῦ βίου: cf. Mich. Psel. Poemata 10, 7-8 (Westerink  
 234) ψυχῆς δὲ τριμέρεια ... θυμός, λόγος πόθος τε || 18 ἐπ' ἄκρων — θέειν:  
 cf. Hom. Il. 20, 227 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον || 23-24 Πηγάσῳ —  
 Βελλεροφόντην: cf. Zenob. 2, 87 (CPG I 54, 22-23) Ἀναβάς οὖν ὁ Βελλε-  
 ροφόντης ἐπὶ τὸν Πήγασον, ὃν εἶχε ἵππον πτηνόν, κατετόξευσε τὴν Χίμαι-  
 ραν || 25-27 σάρκας — φύσεως: cf. Irenaeus haer. (PG 7/2: 1126B) τῆς κατὰ  
 τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, τῆς ἐκ σαρκῶν καὶ νεύρων καὶ ὀστέων  
 συνεστῶσης

22 ἐφ' ᾧ περ P

differ at all from the she-goat, not the one about which Homer  
 recited “in the fore part a lion, in the hinder a serpent, and in  
 the midst a goat”,<sup>3</sup> a strange beast, of threefold nature and form,  
 but one which can devour, crush and beat to dust – to refer again  
 to Homer – “all things that were, and that were to be, and that  
 had been before”,<sup>4</sup> ruining the tripartite division of man’s life.  
 On the other hand, because my horse has not been provided  
 with wings like Pegasus, and has learned neither to spring in the  
 air nor to run over the topmost ears of ripened corn, as those  
 that trace the line of their ancestry to Boreas, it stands at the  
 manger not well-fed, not being strong nor enjoying a fine  
 growth of hair. Quite the contrary, it is very thin and with thick  
 hair like a sheep’s, stuck on the ground outright, in need of a vi-  
 olent north wind to be blown and thus move. Only in this respect  
 is he like Pegasus, in that he carries me as a rider naked on his  
 back, as Pegasus did Bellerophon, having wasted my livelihood  
 – what am I saying, livelihood? When he threatens like a dog to  
 tear to pieces my flesh and bones, my whole inner physical ex-  
 istence.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 275.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 9.



Δεῖ δὴ πρὸς τοιαύτην ὕδραν οὐχ Ἡρακλέους οὐδὲ μολί-  
βδου, χρυσίου μέντοι καὶ βασιλέως, τοῦ μόνου τῶν ἀπάντων  
εἰδότης τοιῶνδ' ἀτιθάσσων θηρίων κατασοφίζεσθαι.†

Υ'

Τῷ πατριάρχῃ κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Γλυκεῖ

Εἴμαρτό μοι καὶ τοῦτο — οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, δοκοῦν δ' οἶμαι τοῖς  
πυλωροῖς —, ἀποκεκλείσθαι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς προσκυνήσεως  
καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δυστυχίαν ἤδη δις δεδυστυχηκέμαι. προσ-  
5 ἰόντα με τὴν πρώτην κλῖμαξ εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ προτεμενίσματος· ἡ  
γὰρ εἴσοδος ἀποκέκλειστο καὶ ἡ θύρα μοχλοῖς καὶ ὀχεῦσι  
σιδηροῖς ἐπεζύγωτο. τοῖς οὖν ἐκτὸς ἀνακειμένοις προσανα-  
κείμενος, ἐπαίταις οὖσιν ἀνιωμένοις, προσηγιώμην ἀνίαν οὐ  
φορητὴν τῷ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἐπαιτοῦσι προσεπαιτεῖν, οὐ μὴν δ'  
10 ἀφίχθαι προσομιλήσω τῷ πατριάρχῃ. ἀμέλει καί, σκοποῦ  
γενόμενον ἀπιέναι, τοῦτ' ἐπέτρεχε, μὴ προσανιάσειν γεγονός  
τὸν πατριάρχην πυθόμενον, μακρόθεν φίλον τυγχάνοντα,  
ἐπέτρεχε δ' οὖν ὁμῶς, φανταζόμενον ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τὴν θύραν  
ἀνεζυγῶσθαι καὶ ῥᾶω γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον. ἐλάνθανον δ' ἄρα  
15 τᾶναντία πεισόμενος· ὥς γὰρ μόγις ὀψέ, τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηχη-  
κότων κινδύνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐσπερίους ὕμνους ἀφοσιωθῆναι  
Θεῷ, ἀναμεμόχλευτο μὲν τὰ ζύγωτρα, ἀνέμκτο δὲ ἡ θύρα  
παραχωροῦσα τὴν εἴσοδον, συνεισῆεν τοῖς εἰσιούσι καὶ γώ.  
καὶ παρελάμβανε μὲν ὁ δόμος, ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην δ' ἔτι

Against such a hydra one needs not Heracles nor lead, but  
gold and the Emperor, who is the only one of all men who knows  
how to deal with such untamed beasts.

### 3. To the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys

It was also this event that fate kept in store for me — I do not  
know how, but I think on account of the keepers of the gate — to  
be cut off from expressing my reverence to the Patriarch and to  
have the bad luck this to happen to me twice. When I came the  
first time I did not go beyond the stairs of the building; the en-  
trance was closed and the gate was fastened by bars and iron  
bolts. Standing near the grieving beggars who were kept outside,  
I was distressed by the unbearable thought that I could be taken  
as also begging along with those beggars, and not that I had  
come to speak with the patriarch. At any rate, having decided  
to leave, the thought kept me back, that the patriarch may be  
annoyed learning of the incident, being a long-time friend; ne-  
vertheless the thought held me back, imagining that the bolt of  
the gate would be pushed back right away making easy the en-  
trance. Yet, I was mistaken going through the opposite. Almost  
late in the day, when the sacred bells rang for the evening ser-  
vice dedicated to God, the bars were raised and the gate was  
opened to allow entrance, and I entered together with the others  
who went inside. And the building took me in, but the way lea-

20 φέρουσα κέκλειστο. ἡμέρας δ' ἤδη φθινούσης —καὶ γὰρ  
βουλευτὸς ἦν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ τῶν οἴκοι μεμνησθαι ἀνέπειθεν—  
ἐξῆεν ἀνίας μεστός, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς ἀκαιρίας, ἑμαυτοῦ δὲ  
πλείω καταμεμφόμενος.

Εἶεν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεντεκαίδεκάτης παριππευσάσης, πάρι-  
25 μεν αὖθις, ὥσπερ φιλίας κέντρῳ νυττόμενοι καὶ πείραν αὖθις  
ληφόμενοι, καίτοι τῆς προτέρας σωφρονιζούσης, πάριμεν δ'  
οὖν τὴν προτέραν ἀναπαλαίσοντες ἦσαν. ἀφιππασάμενοι δὲ  
καὶ ποδὶ δρομαίῳ παρὰ τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρώτας πύλας  
γενόμενοι ἐπεζυγώμεναι ἐντετυχήκαμεν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς  
30 ἐπιζυγώσεως πυθνανομένων, τῶν τις πυλωρούντων «εἰ παρὰ  
τὸν πατριάρχην ἀπιέναι βούλει», φησὶν, «ἴθι παρὰ τὴν ξυ-  
λίνην — πύλη δ' αὕτη τῶν πατριαρχικῶν οἰκημάτων —, ταύτη  
γὰρ ἐφεῖσθαι τὴν εἰσοδὸν τό γε νῦν εἶναι». ὁ μὲν οὖν εἵρηκε  
πρὸς ἀπάτην, ἡμεῖς δ', ἀληθίζειν οἰόμενοι, τὸν λόγον ἔργον  
p. 108 35 ἐτίθεμεν. ἰόντες δὲ ἰκανταῦθα τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐψεύσμεθα· ἡ μὲν  
γὰρ πύλαις ὅλαις ἀνεπέπτατο, καὶ εἰσῆειμεν ἂν καὶ παρὰ τὸν  
πατριάρχην ἀνῆειμεν, εἰ μὴ δρομαῖος ὁ πυλωρὸς ἐπεζύγωσέ  
μοι κατὰ προσώπου, «ἄπ' ἐμῆς πύλης», εἰπὼν, «ἄπ' ἐμῆς».  
καταλειφθεὶς οὖν θυραῖος μεστός αἰσχύνης ἐπάνειμι, οὐ τὸν  
40 χόλον καταπέψας αὐτῇμαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς δεῦρο μελαγχολῶν

27 ἀναπαλαίσοντες — ἦσαν: cf. Eust. Comm. Il. III, 155,2 (van der Valk) τὴν ἦσαν ἀναπαλαίσαντες || 40 χόλον — αὐτῇμαρ: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 81 εἴ περ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῇμαρ καταπέψη

24 παριππασάσης LPdTheil || 29 ἐπεζυγώμενη LPdTheil || 35 ἰόντων LPdTheil

ding to the patriarch was closed. Yet, the day was already coming to a close — because it was evening and the time made me think of those at home — I then went out very much upset, blaming the bad timing but even more myself.

Be that as it may, fifteen days after that, I came back again, as if I was incited by an urge of friendship to take another chance, although the past one was calling for prudence, I nevertheless came back to resolve the previous defeat. Getting off the horse and then on foot running fast I came to the first gates of the Church and found them closed. Inquiring the reason for being closed, one of those in the service of the gate said to me, “if you want to go to the patriarch go to the wooden gate — this is a gate of the patriarchal buildings — from there entrance is now permitted”. Yet, he lied to me in what he said, but thinking that he was telling the truth, I put his word in action. Arriving there my hopes proved false. Because the gate was completely open and we could enter and go up to the patriarch, if the gate keeper running at full speed would not shut it in my face, saying “away from my gate”, “away from my gate”. Left then outside the gate fully disgraced, I returned back, “not swallowing my wrath for the one day”, but being still saddened at the empty-

τῆς τε κενῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῆς τ' αἰσχύνης, ἣν ὁ πυλωρὸς ἐμοὶ  
προσετρίψατο.

Ἄρ' οὖν ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτα τῷ πεπεισμένῳ; ἢ μὴν οὐμός δε-  
σπότης καὶ πατριάρχης ἡγήσαιο; καὶ τίς ἂν γε φαίη, ὅτι μὴ  
45 ὅστις τὸ πατριαρχικὸν οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔστι φιλόανθρωπον;

δ'

### Τῷ αὐτῷ πατριάρχῃ

Ἡμᾶς δὲ τί ποτ' ἄρα πάσχειν δοκεῖς, οἷον δ' ἂν ἀσχάλλειν,  
παναγιώτατε δέσποτά μου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης κοινὲ πα-  
τριάρχῃ, μὴδ' ἐφάπαξ, καίτοι δέον ὄν καθάπαξ, ὁμιλεῖν,  
5 πολλῶν ἀνέκαθεν δικαίων πειθόντων; ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν  
ἑτερπόμεθ' ἂν ἀπόντες, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἀσχάλλειν ἐξῆν· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τις ἡδεται δρῶν, ἀνιᾶσθαι. ἀνιῶτο δ' ἂν ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης, ἐφ' ὅτῳ πάσχων οὐχ ἡδεται· ἀνιᾶ γὰρ τὸ παρά  
γνώμην. εἰ δὲ μὴδὲν ἡνιώμεθα, δῆλον ὡς ἡδόμεθ' ἂν πάσχον-  
10 τες, ἡδόμενοι δὲ ἐσιγῶμεν καὶ μὴτ' ἂν ἀπολογεῖσθαι γράμ-  
μασιν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπεβάλλομεν οὐτ' οὖν ἀπολύειν αἰτίας  
ἡγωνιζόμεθα. εἰ γὰρ μὴ πολλάκις προσιόντες οὐδὲν ἡνυκότες  
τοσάκις μὴ τετυχηκότες ἐξῆιμεν, ἤμεν ἂν δικαίως νεμεση-  
τέοι καὶ γε καθ' ἑαυτῶν κεκινηκότες τὸν τῆς παροιμίας

4. 14-15 κεκινηκότες — ἀνάγυρον: Zenob. 2, 55 (CPG I 46); Diogen.  
1, 25 (CPG I 184); Apostol. 9, 99 (CPG II 483); Karathanasis 102; Salz-  
mann 87

handed journey and the shame which the gate-keeper brought  
upon me.

Consequently are then these matters to be tolerated being  
convinced of my report? Or would my lord and patriarch con-  
sider them acceptable? But anyone who says so, he certainly ig-  
nores the patriarchal benevolence.

### 4. To the same Patriarch

What can my distress possibly be and how great do you think is  
my sadness, my all-holy lord and ecumenical patriarch, for not  
being able to communicate with you, not even once, although it  
should happen at least in one single case, as my many rights  
from years back assure me? If I was pleased being apart from  
you, there would be no need to be distressed. Nor is it possible  
to be sad in what one enjoys doing. Yet he would necessarily be  
grieved when he is affected by something that does not afford  
him pleasure; because that which is contrary to one's opinion  
causes distress. If I had not been then distressed at all, it would  
mean that I was satisfied with what happened to me; and being  
satisfied I would have kept silent about it, neither defending my-  
self by sending letters nor trying to clear myself of the charge.  
Because if I had not come many times having accomplished  
nothing and as many departed empty-handed, I should justly  
face resentment for having brought this trouble upon myself.

15 ἀνάγυρον. νυνὶ δέ, τοιούτων πεπειραμένοι δρωμένων, δευτέρῳ πλῶ, τῷ διὰ γραμμμάτων, προσέσχομεν, ὥς μὴ παντελῶς δοκοῖμεν ἀνέραστοί τινες καὶ ἀγνώμονες, ἐρεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον μισόκαλοι· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ῥᾶστα τοιούτοι κριθείημεν, αἰτίαν στοχαζομένοις τὴν ἀπουσίαν.

20 Ἄλλ' ἢ γε πατριαρχικὴ μεγαλόνοια οἶδεν ὅπως τε καὶ παρόντες φιλοῦμεν καὶ μακρὰν ὄντες εὐγνωμονοῦμεν.

Ε'

### Τῷ κανικλείου

p. 109

Ἀνεγινώσκετο μὲν ὁ λόγος, ἡδόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς ἀκροώμενοι καὶ ἡμεν ἐκθειάζοντες, ὅσοις ἦν ἔργον τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις συννοία προσέχειν. Ἰ ἐξιούσι δὲ τοῦ συλλόγου καὶ προϊούσιν οἴκαδε οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἦν κοινὴν πεποιημένοις τὴν ὁμιλίαν. ἡ δ' ἦν ἅπασα περὶ τοῦ λόγου, μὴ ταῦτά δρᾶν τοῖς προτέροις· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐκρότει καὶ ἐπήνει καὶ ἐνεθουσία ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, οὕτω μὲν γενναίου, οὕτω δὲ θαυμασίου προενηνεγμένου καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμμένου. καὶ δῆθ' οὕτως ἔχουσιν  
10 ἡδονῆς καὶ εὐφημίας ψῆφος ἐξηνέχθη καὶ δέλτοις ἀντιγράφοις

15-16 δευτέρῳ πλῶ: cf. Lib. ep. 95, 2 (X 94, 9 Foerster); Diogen. 2, 45 (CPG II 24) πλοῦν ἄλλον; Karathanasis 80 δεύτερος πλοῦς; Salzmann 55 || 17 ἀνέραστοι – ἀγνώμονες: cf. Mich. Chon. Orat. 14 (Lampros I, 250, 23) ἀλλ' ἀνέραστως καὶ ἀγνωμόνως

But now, going through the experience of such doings, I choose the next best way, that of letter writing, so that I may not appear as completely unloving and ungrateful or, I would say-rather, as hating the good. There are some who would easily condemn us as such, imputing the fault to my absence.

But your patriarchal magnanimity certainly knows that and being present I manifest my love as well as my gratitude from afar.

### 5. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

When the discourse was read, we were enjoying listening and admiring, those of us who were paying close attention to the reading. As the group was leaving and heading home it was to be expected, as we were still conversing with each other (and the talk was all about the discourse), that we acted in the same manner as in previous readings. There was no one who did not applaud, praise or approve it with pleasure and for such an excellent and admirable deliverance which attained its best. And indeed being filled with joy and praise, it was decided that the discourse should be given to be copied in books and be inscribed

δοθῆναι καὶ πλαξὶ καρδιῶν ἐγχαραχθῆναι, ὥς μήποτ' ἂν  
 ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένοιτο τὰ καλὰ μηδὲ παραρρυῇ, λήθης  
 ἀμαυρωθέντα βυθῷ, παντὶ δὲ βίῳ συντηρηθεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι  
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐσομένους διαπορθμεύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 15 προφθὰς αἰτῷ λαβεῖν πρῶτος, θαῦμα γ' οὐδέν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν  
 συστήσοιμι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων φιλεῖν, τῷ καὶ πρῶτος ἦτη-  
 κέναι τῶν ἄλλων.

ς'  
 Τῷ αὐτῷ

Φήμη περιθέει τοὺς λογίους οὐκ ἄχαρις· ἡ δ' ἔστι, τὴν σὴν  
 μεγαλόνοιαν ἐξηνηνοχέναι λόγον γενναῖον, περὶ ψυχῆς, ὃν  
 φασιν, εἰ περιόντες Πλάτων τε καὶ Πλωτῖνος καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ  
 5 φιλοσόφου κόμματος ἐπῆσαν, τάχ' ἂν αἰδεσθέντες ἀπῆσαν.  
 τοῦτον οἱ μηδένες περὶ λόγους ἡμεῖς ἀναγνῶναι καὶ τῆς  
 αὐτόθεν φιλοσοφίας ἀπόνασθαι, πῶς δοκεῖς ἐφιέμεθα; εἰ γάρ,  
 εἴ τις ἄλλος, τοῦ γεννησαμένου πατρός ἐξηρτήμεθα, πῶς ἂν  
 μὴ καὶ τὸν παῖδα γνησίως φιλοῖμεν καὶ πρὸς οὐκ ἐπιόντας  
 10 ἐπιέναι διαπορθμεύοιμεν; τὰ γὰρ ἔχοντα καλλίστως οὐκ ἔσθ'  
 ὅπως νοῦν ἔχων τις οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς μὴ φιλεῖν καί, φιλῶν,

5. 11 πλαξὶ καρδιῶν: cf. II Cor. 3: 3 ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίαις σαρκίνας || 11-  
 13 ὥς μήποτ' — βυθῷ: cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 44, 1 (PG 36: 608A) ἵνα μὴ  
 ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλὰ, μηδὲ παραρρυῇ λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυ-  
 ρούμενα

on tablets of human hearts, so that the good deeds should not  
 be forgotten in time nor become obscure and be swept away into  
 the abyss of oblivion, but be preserved for a life-time, so that it  
 could be transmitted to the future generations. If I ask to receive  
 the text first ahead of the others, do not marvel. So in this way  
 I introduce myself as a greater admirer of yours than any other,  
 being the first to have asked for it before anyone else.

## 6. To the same

A rumor is circulating among scholars – not an unpleasant one.  
 That your great mind has composed an excellent discourse, On  
 the Soul, about which they say, if Plato and Plotinus were still  
 alive and were together with those who joined the philosophic  
 elite afterwards and had read it, they would probably go away  
 filled with respect. You can imagine how much we wanted to  
 read it, we the unworthy of such learning, and profit from its  
 philosophy. If we are indeed attached to the father, who brought  
 it forth, more than anyone else, how could we not genuinely love  
 his offspring and not transmit it to those who have not yet en-  
 countered it? Because for someone with a grasp of understand-  
 ing, it is impossible not to appreciate an excellent work. If he

φθονεῖν καὶ λοιποῖς μεταδιδόναι τοῦ κρείττονος, ὥσπερ τις ἐρασιχρήματος, ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ θησαυρίζων τὸν ὄλβον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς τοσούτους ἔστιν ἀποστερῶν, ὅσους εὖ ποιεῖν ἠδύνατο.

- 15 Κέλευσον πεμφθῆναι τὸν λόγον, ἵν', εὐφράνας παῖς δὲ καλός, θάπτον ἀναλύσῃ παρὰ πατέρα τὸν κάλλιστον. τὴν μέντοι γ' αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπερημέρου ἀφίξεως, ἣν ἐνεκάλεσας, λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν· εἰ δὲ πραγμάτων ὄχλος περιστοιχίζων ἴσως μνήμης ἔξω βαλεῖν ἀναπέπεικεν, αὐτὸς αὖ ἀναμνήσω
- 20 καί, πείθομαι, συγγνώσῃ, χρηστότατε. οἷς δ' ἐρῶ, πρόσσχε· ἵππος ἐκεῖνος, ὃς με βασιλεὺς ἐδωρήσατο, πάντα μου κατείσπαθηκώς ἄλφιστα καὶ λοιπὴν περιουσίαν ἐδηδοκώς, ἔπειδ' ἡ μὴδὲν ἀκοστὰν περιλέλοιπε, δεσμὰ διαρρήξας — καὶ γὰρ ἐπέιξε τὸ πεινῆν —, ῥίμφα ἐ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἥθεα καὶ
- 25 νομὸν ἵππων. καὶ νῦν σκιρτῶν κροαίνει κατὰ πεδίου, ἐμοὶ δὲ περίεστι τῷ πεζεύειν ἄχθεσθαι. ἀνεκαλεσάμην δ' ἂν οἴκοι καὶ δεσμοῖς περιέβαλον, εἰ μὴ δέος ἦρει καὶ χεῖρῳ δράσειν ἐμέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βιβλίῳ ὀλίγων, ἅττα περίεστιν, οὐδενός ἂν φείσαιτο, εἰθώς ἐδμεναι ἄδδην, ἐφ' ἵπποστάθμου βασιλικοῦ
- 30 καὶ φάτης στατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα καταβροχθίσειεν, οἷά τις χάρυβδις ἀπληστος. ἦν οὖν τι κήδη, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπειδὴ κήδη τῶν λόγων, κέλευσον τὴν χάρυβδιν ἀκοστὰν — ἴσως γὰρ ἂν

23 δεσμὰ διαρρήξας: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 507 δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας || 24-25 ῥίμφα — ἵππων: Hom. Il. 6, 511 || 25 κροαίνει — πεδίου: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 507 θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων || 29 εἰθώς — ἄδδην: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 203 εἰωθότες ἐδμεναι ἄδδην

16 πατέρα LPdTheil || 17 ἦν LPdTheil || 20 πρόσσχε P

indeed appreciates it and yet at the same time is jealous and refuses to offer this common good to others, then he is just like a miser who gathers only to himself the happiness, and he does not know that he deprives as many as he could have benefited.

Give an order and I shall dispatch the discourse to you so that your excellent offspring having filled me with joy may the sooner return to its brilliant father. As to the reason for its arrival being overdue, of which you accused me, I have already given an explanation. If, however, the many troubles that beset me have misled me perhaps to forget, again once more I shall remind myself to send it back and, I am convinced, your kindness shall forgive me. Give ear to what I shall say: that horse which the Emperor gave me as a gift has squandered all the barley and eaten up the rest of my surplus, and because nothing is left to eat, it has broken its halter — for the reason that it was hard-pressed by hunger — “his knees nimbly bear him to the haunts and pastures of mares”<sup>5</sup> and now he “runneth stamping over the plain”,<sup>6</sup> and the net result of all this is to go on foot and be grieved. I could bring it back home and put it in fetters, if I was not overcome by fear that it could do me something worse. It would spare nothing, not even the few books that are left to me, being accustomed to eat its fill as a stabled horse before a manger in an imperial stable, yet he would also devour my books like an insatiate charybdis. If you care somewhat about me, rather because you care for learning, give an order for the

5. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 299.

6. *Ibid.*

φείσαιο τῶν βιβλίων —, ἐμὲ δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπάλλαξον καὶ  
 πάντως ἔποχον ὅψει παρὰ τὰς σὰς θαμίζοντα θύρας καὶ τὴν  
 35 ὀφειλὴν ἀποτινύντα.

Ἄλλ' ἢν μὴ δοκῶ φορτικός, δέομαί σου καὶ τρίτην δέησιν  
 ταυτηνί· παρῶν ὅτε με βασιλεὺς εὐηργέτει ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις  
 ἐφῆδου καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμαϊκοῦ ὁ λόγιος ὑπερηγόρεις Ἑρμῆς. ἡ  
 δ' ὑπερηγορία καὶ δευτέρας εὐεργεσίας ὑπόθεσις, ἐσθῆς  
 40 ἐπηγγελμένη πρὸς βασιλέως. καὶ δῆτα τὴν ἐσθῆτα σὺ μὲν  
 κερκίσι λόγων ἐξύφαινες, ὁ χρηστός δὲ κεφαλῇ κατένευε βα-  
 σιλεὺς. ἀπόδος ἐμοὶ θάττον τὸ ὕφασμα, καὶ σοὶ Χριστὸς τὸ  
 σωτήριον στόλισμα.

ζ'

Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἀνέγνων τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς γενναῖόν σου λόγον, καὶ γε πολλά-  
 χις, καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἦν ὁ τι τοῦ λόγου μέρος μὴ μεθ'  
 ὑπερβάλλοντος θαύματος καὶ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς ἀνέγνων, τῆς τ'  
 5 ἐπιστήμης τῆς τε δεινότητος ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἀγάμενος. καὶ γε  
 τὴν πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς παροιμίαν, ἀληθῆ δοκοῦσαν

41 κερκίσι λόγων: cf. Eurip. Ion, 506-507 οὐτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγων  
 φάτιν

37 βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς P || 41 κατένευσε LPdTheil

7. 6 πρὸς — Ἡρακλῆς: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 3

charybdis to be fed — perhaps she would thus spare the books.  
 Relieve me of my troubles and you shall surely see me riding  
 often to your doors, paying my debt in full.

But if I do not appear burdensome, I beg you for a third favour,  
 the following one: when the Emperor showed me his kindness you  
 were present and were pleased with the benefits bestowed upon  
 me and like the eloquent Hermes you spoke on my behalf, the ser-  
 vant of Hermes. Your plea was about the matter of a second gift,  
 a garment promised to me by the Emperor. And upon that occa-  
 sion you wove the dress with the loom of your words, and the kind  
 Emperor consented by nodding his head. Grant me then promptly  
 the garment, and Christ will grant the garment of salvation.

## 7. To the same

I read your excellent discourse On the Soul many times, of  
 course, and it was impossible not to feel immense admiration  
 and great pleasure reading any part of it, being captivated by its  
 erudition and forcefulness. The discourse moreover proved that  
 the proverb, which was upheld earlier as a true one, that “not

πρωτοῦ, ψευδῆ σαφῶς ὁ λόγος ἐλήλεγχεν, οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ δύο  
μόνων, Πλάτωνος καὶ Πλωτίνου, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πάντων, ὅσοι τοῦ  
φιλοσόφου κόμματος περὶ ψυχῆς ἐδογματίσαν, τὸ κράτος  
10 ἀνέζωστο. ὦ γενναίου νοῦ, τιαυῦτα περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιστήσαντος,  
ὦ ψυχῆς φιλοσόφου, περὶ νοῦ τηλικαῦτα σπουδασάσης καὶ  
δι' ἀμφοῖν μεγίστην καὶ καλλίστην ἰδιδασκαλίαν ἐξευρηκυίας  
τῷ βίῳ· ὦ σοφῶν ἀποδείξεων, μᾶλλον δ' ἐρεῖν ἐπιστημονικῶν  
πίστεων, ἅττα γλώττας οὕτως ἐπεστόμισεν ἀντιθέτους. δεῦρ'  
15 ἴτε, Πλάτων τε καὶ Πλωτῖν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπισφαλῶς πε-  
φιλοσοφῇ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἀσφαλῶς ἀχροῶσθε καὶ πάντως ἂν  
τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λημῶν ὄμμα καθάραντες πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνης  
ἥλιον ἐντρανίσσητε καὶ ῥήσεσιν ἀναντιρρήτοις πεισθεῖητε. εἰ δ'  
οὖν, δοῖται αὐταῖς, αὐταῖς γλώτταις, ἐς κόρακας. τάχ' ἂν καὶ  
20 χάριν εἰδεῖμεν ὑμῖν, τρανές ἡμῖν ἀληθές συγχωροῦσιν ὄραν,  
ὀφθαλμῖαν νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.

Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν, οὐδὲν ὑγιές ἐξεληλεγμένοι, δοξαζόντων ὅπως  
ποθ' αἰροῖντο, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῇ φύσει γίγνοιτ' ἂν χάρις πρὸς  
τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐμὲ δὲ πῶς δοκεῖς τὸν ἵππον δάκνειν λιμώττοντα  
25 καὶ τῶν σῶν πυραμίδων ἀκοστᾶν ἀναγκάζοντα; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ'  
ἔστι κατ' ἐκείνους δὴ τοὺς Ἡραίους, τοῖσιν ἀμβροσίην Σιμό-  
εις ἀνέτειλε νέμεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ χρῖ λευκὸν καὶ δλύρας ἐρέ-  
πτονται. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἑκτορείων τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν; οἷς

19 ἐς κόρακας: Zenob. 3, 87 (CPG I 78-79); Apostol. 7, 96 (CPG II 421)  
|| 26-27 τοῖσιν — νέμεσθαι: Hom. Il. 5, 777 || 27-28 οἱ χρῖ — ἐρέπτονται: cf.  
Hom. Il. 5, 196 χρῖ λευκὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ δλύρας

15 γε (pro τε) LPdTheil || 26 δὲ (pro δὴ) LPdTheil

even Heracles was a match for two", to be actually untrue, be-  
cause the author of the discourse girded his power not only  
against two, Plato and Plotinus, but against all those from the  
ranks of philosophy who expressed their opinion on the soul.

Oh, noble mind, you displayed such a great knowledge about  
the soul; oh, philosophic soul, you studied so deeply the mind  
and for both, soul and mind, you have created the greatest and  
best principles in life; oh, what great wise proofs, rather said sci-  
entific arguments, which silenced in such a way the speech of  
the opponents. Come here, Plato and Plotinus and any other who  
taught as a philosopher about the soul in a dubious way. Listen  
now with certainty, wash off your sore eyes and looking at the  
truth you shall see the sun and be convinced by the undeniable  
axioms. Otherwise, to hell with your theories and your language.  
But perhaps we should feel grateful to you for you have allowed  
us to see the truth clearly, yourselves being sick in the eyes.

But let them believe whatever they choose, for they are  
proven unsound in their notions. As for you, may the grace of  
God be upon you and your disposition. But do you believe it, my  
famished horse bites me and forces me to feed him barley from  
your own barn? Nay, mine is not like those horses of the goddess  
Hera, for the sake of which "Simois made ambrosia to spring up  
to graze upon", because they "feed on white barley and spelt".  
And what is the need to mention the horses of Hector? For which

7. Ibid., I, 209.



Ἀνδρομάχη παρὰ προτέροισι μελίφρονα πυρὸν ἔθηκεν οἶνόν  
 30 τ' ἐγκεράσασα πιεῖν, ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι ἢ Ἑκτορι, ὅσπερ οἱ  
 θαλερὸς πόσις εὔχετο εἶναι. ὁ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθὼν, κατὰ  
 τοὺς Γλαύκου ἐκμέμνηεν, ἵππομανοῦς δεδειπνηκότας καὶ τὸν  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν διεσπαραχότας δεσπότην. καὶ μὴ περιβύσαις  
 35 τούτῳ τὸ στόμα, Ἑρακλῆς ἐλλῶν ἀλεξίκακος, Ἑράκλεις,  
 οἷων ἂν ἐγὼ πειραθείην.

Εἶτα, περὶδοῖς ἄν, ὁ φιλόανθρωπος, ἔλεεινὰ πάσχοντα,  
 καὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτῶν, τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν δη-  
 λαδῆ; μὴ σύ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ σεσωκέναι καὶ τὴν ἐπηγ-  
 γελμένην ἐσθῆτα πρὸς βασιλέως ὑφάναις μοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ  
 40 φιλέρμαιος ἀνάσχειτ' ἂν βασιλεὺς μὴ Ἑρμῇ τε καὶ Μούσαις  
 εὖστολόν τινα τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν συστήσαι θεράποντα. οὗτ' οὖν  
 ἔργον σόν, τοῦ λογίου Ἑρμοῦ τὸν Ἑρμαϊκόν γε περιῦδεῖν  
 ἔρρικνωμένον τριβώνιον ἀμπεχόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ περὶ  
 45 τὰ βασίλεια διατρίβειν, οὕτω δόξαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐ συγχωρεῖ  
 μὴ οὐκ ἐνῆφθαί με τῶν μαλακῶν.

Ἄτρακτός ἐστιν ἡ γλῶσσα τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀληθῶν ἐπαγ-  
 γελιῶν περικλώθουσα νήματα· κίνει δὴ μοι καὶ περιεῖλει

29-30 προτέροισι — ἀνώγοι: Hom. 8, 188-189 || 31-32 κατὰ —  
 ἐκμέμνηεν: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 33-34 || 34 Ἑρακλῆς — ἀλεξίκακος: cf. Lu-  
 cian. Alex. 4, 1-2 ἀλεξίκακε Ἑράκλεις || 40-41 Ἑρμῇ — θεράποντα: locus  
 communis, cf. Nic. Basilac. Or. III (74, 4 Garzya); Eust. ep. 23 (75, 7  
 Kolovou) εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Ἑρμοῦ θεράπων λογίου, βαβαὶ τῆς  
 ὕβρεως

Andromache "set before them honeyed-hearted wheat and min-  
 gled wine for them to drink, when their souls bade them"<sup>8</sup>  
 sooner than Hector, "who avows to be her stalwart husband".<sup>9</sup>  
 But my horse, I do not know why on earth, it became mad like  
 the horses of Glaukos, which, having tasted an Arkadian plant  
 that made them furious, tore their master to pieces. And if you  
 will not muzzle its mouth, coming as a Heracles warding off ill,  
 oh Heracles, what will I experience!

Will you overlook me then, while I suffer, you the compas-  
 sionate one, who excels more than anyone in doing good to oth-  
 ers? Not you, of course. Besides, by rescuing me you should  
 weave the dress which the Emperor promised me. Neither would  
 the Emperor, the friend of Hermes, tolerate a servant of theirs  
 to be associated with Hermes and the Muses unless he was well  
 dressed. It is not then a fitting task for you, the Logios Hermes,  
 to allow me, the servant of Hermes, to be clad in a shriveled  
 cloak; besides, my mere presence in the palace, as the Emperor  
 decided, obliges me to be dressed in fine clothes.

The speech of the Emperor is like a spindle which spins  
 threads of true promises. Set then in motion and rotate the spin-

8. *Ibid.*, I, 353.

9. *Ibid.*

ταύτην τὴν ἄτρακτον, καὶ | Κλωθοῦς μίτοις λαμπράν τὴν  
ἑσθῆτα θάττον ἐξυφανεῖς.

ἡ'  
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μοι λόγος ἀναγκαῖος καὶ περὶ ἀναγκαίων  
ἔρων ἤκει καὶ πάντως πείσων, καὶν δοκῇ τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης σθέ-  
νος ἀδῆριτον. θέρους ἐφειστήκει ἀκμή· καὶ τοῖς εὖ μὲν  
5 ἔχουσι δαιμονίου πλήρεις μὲν αἱ ἄλλως θημῶνων, πλήρεις δ'  
αἱ πυραμίδες σίτων· ἐμοὶ δὲ τᾶγ γη κενὰ καὶ ἀραχνίων μεστά,  
ὅπερ Ἡσίοδος ἀπηγόρευεν, ἢ τε σιπύη κενὴ καὶ ἡ γαστήρ  
στενὴ τό τε πεινὴν παραπόδας καὶ θάνατος ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ. τρυ-  
γητός ἐστιν ὁ καιρός· καὶ τοῖς μὲν, βοτρώων ὑπερστεφεῖς αἱ  
10 ληνοὶ τὰ θ' ὑπολήνια ἀνακαχλάζοντά τε καὶ ἀναζέοντα· καὶ  
Διόνυσος ὁ Διός, εἰωθὼς ἐλευθεριάζειν καὶ συμβακχεύειν  
Νύμφαις ἐν ὄρεσι, πίθοις νῦν καθερχθεῖς ὥσπερ φρουραῖς  
βρέμει μὲν μανικόν, ἐνθουσιᾷ δὲ δεινὸν βρασμούς τε φοφῶδεις  
ἀναφυσᾷ καὶ χεῖριστα ὄραν ἀπειλεῖ, ῥηγνύναι μὲν τοὺς πυθ-  
15 μένας τοῖς πίθοις, σχάζειν δὲ τὰς γαστέρας τοῖς ἀμφορεῦσι  
καὶ διαλακίζειν τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν ἀσκῶν, οὐ πυρὸς πρη-

8. 3-4 τὸ τῆς — ἀδῆριτον: cf. Aesch. Prom. 105; Salzmann 71 || 6 τᾶγ γη  
— μεστά: cf. Hesiod. Op. 475 ἐκ δ' ἀγγέων ἐλάσεις ἀράχνια || 11-12 συμ-  
βακχεύειν — ὄρεσι: cf. Eur. Ba. 726 πᾶν δὲ συνεβάχχευ' ὄρος

5 ὄλῳ LPdTheil || 6 τὰ ᾔγγη LPdTheil || 9 καιρός LPdTheil

dle, and you shall quickly weave a brilliant garment with  
Klothos' threads.

8. To the Grand Logothete

My letter conveys a word of force and has come to tell about my  
needs and it will no doubt be convincing, even when it seems  
that "the might of necessity brooketh no resistance".<sup>10</sup> The mid-  
summer season has arrived and to those who have the favours  
of fortune their threshing floor is filled with heaps of crops.  
Filled are also their barns of grain, while my vessels are empty  
and full of spider webs, which Hesiod forbade — and my jar is  
empty, my belly is thin and hunger is imminent and death looms  
over my head. It is harvest-time; the wine vats of others are filled  
to the brim with grapes and their vessels which are placed under  
the press boil up and bubble. And Dionysus, the son of Zeus, who  
is accustomed to be free of ethical restraints, joins in Dionysiac  
revelry the Nymphs in the mountains, but he is now locked up  
in vessels as if he were in prison, where he roars in frenzy, as  
being in a wondrous ecstasy, blowing up and boiling full of noise,  
and threatens to do the worst, that is to break the bottoms of  
the vessels, to slit open the belly of the jars and to tear up the  
old wineskins, discharging not eruptions of fire, but a crater of

10. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, tr. H. Weir Smyth, 227.

στῆρας, οἰνηρούς δὲ κρατῆρας Τυφῶνος δίκην ἀνερευγόμενος.  
 ἀπιὼν ἤδη καὶ οὗτος ὤχετο, μεστὰ μοι παρεικῶς ἀνέμων τὰ  
 σκεύη· καὶ τοῦ πίθου τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐκπωματισθέντος αἰδ' εἰς  
 20 αἰθέρος ἀνέπτασαν. δέος οὖν, δέος μὴ δριμέος χειμῶνος ἐν-  
 σκήψαντος λεπτῇ χειρὶ πιέζω πόδα παχύν, ὅπερ πάλιν  
 ἀπεῖπεν Ἡσίοδος.

Ἄλλ' ἦν μὲν, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἀνεβαλόμεν ἐργάζεσθαι ἐς  
 τ' αὖριον ἐς τ' ἔννηφι, δίκας ἂν ὤφλον καὶ δικαίως ἐπάλαιον  
 25 ἄτησιν, ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀμβολιεργός. νυνὶ δ', ἐφίεις ρυτῆρας ὅλους  
 ἔργοις σπουδαίοις, ποῦ δίκαιος πᾶσχειν ἄτ' ἂν ἀμβολιεργός;  
 πᾶσχω γε δ' οὖν, παρεωραμένος, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πλου-  
 τούντων, οἷς θητεύω καὶ ὢν παιδεύειν τὰ φίλτατα τὸ δεινὸν  
 δαιμόνιον κατεδίκασεν, ὥσπερ εἰργασμένος τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰ  
 30 χεῖριστα, δέον διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν με πᾶσης. ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν χρυσῆτιν  
 γῆν ἐμετάλλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀργυρῆτιν, περιερρεόμην ἂν ἀργυ-  
 ρίοις τε καὶ χρυσίοις· νυνὶ δ', ἀνιχνεύων καὶ διδάσκων λόγους  
 καὶ μαργάρων καὶ λίθων τιμιωτέρους, ἀτιμότερος τῶν μέ-  
 ταλλα γεωρυχούντων καθέστηκε καὶ γυμνότερος ὑπέρου καὶ

19-20 πίθου — ἀνέπτασαν: cf. Hesiod. Op. 97; Dem. Cyd. Ep. 46 (80, 26-27 R.-J. Loenertz) ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ὁ πίθος κεκένωται || 21 λεπτῇ — παχύν: cf. Hesiod. Op. 497 λεπτῇ δὲ παχύν πόδα χειρὶ πιέζης || 23-24 ἀνεβαλόμεν — ἔννηφι: cf. Hesiod. Op. 410 μὴδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἐς τ' αὖριον ἐς τε ἔννηφι || 24-25 ἐπάλαιον — ἀμβολιεργός: cf. Hesiod. Op. 413 αἰεὶ δ' ἀμβολιεργός ἀνὴρ ἄτησι παλαίει || 34 γυμνότερος ὑπέρου: Prov. 23: 31; Apostol. 17, 65 (CPG II 702); Karathanasis 71

wine like a Typhon. Yet he is already gone, leaving to me the vessels filled with air, and as the lid was taken away from the cask of hopes, my hopes flew in the air. There is a fear then, a fear "lest in bitter winter I chafe a swollen foot with a shrank hand",<sup>11</sup> which again Hesiod rejects.

But if, as Hesiod says, I "had put work off till tomorrow and the day after", I should suffer punishment as a man who puts off work and is justly at hand-grips with ruin. But now with loose reins for serious works, is it just that I suffer for putting off work? I suffer to be sure from being overlooked, and for that matter, by the rich for whom I work and whose dear children I have been condemned by the awful demon to teach, as if I had injured these men in the worst way, though they ought to treat me honourably. Yet if I had worked in a gold or a silver mine, I would abound in silver and gold; but now searching and teaching discourses which are more precious than pearls and valuable stones, I have become more dishonoured than those who dig a mine and "more bare than a pestle" and more poor than Iros.

11. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, tr. H.G. Evelyn-White, 39.

35 Ἴρου πενέστερος. ἦσαν ἄρα εὐδαίμονες καὶ παῖδες εὐδαιμό-  
νων φυτηκόμοι καὶ γεωργοί, παρ' οἷς καὶ βαλάντιον ἔμ-  
βριθές καὶ γαστρός θύλακος ἐμβριθέστερος. Ἑρμῆς δὲ καὶ  
Μοῦσαι καὶ λόγοι οὐδὲν ἱερόν, οὐδὲν τι πρὸς ἄλφιτα.

Ἴν' οὖν μὴ λιμοῦ θᾶττον ἔργον γενοίμεθα, δεῖ δὴ κατα-  
40 σοφίσασθαι τοῦ δεινοῦ· τὸ δ' ἔστι, πρὸς φρέαρ προσιόντα  
ζώων κοιλίας πλύνειν, ἵν' εὐθέως δοκοῖμεν ἂν διακονικοὶ καὶ  
κοιλίας ἡμετέρας θεραπευταί, ταῦτά δρῶντες τῷ τῆς κωμω-  
δίας Ἑρμῇ. ἦν γὰρ ἄλλως προσίωμεν, ἡττημένοι γαστρός,  
οἷς θητεύομεν ἀπαιτήσαντες, οἱ δέ, δέον φαιδρῶ προσώπῳ  
45 προσήσασθαι, τοῦναντίον εὐθὺς συνήγαγον τὰς ὀφρῦς καί,  
τοῦπισκύνιον κατασπάσαντες, σκυθρωπάξιν ὑπεκρίναντο.  
εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ καπυρὸν ἀνεκάγχασαν, ταῦτά ταῖς ἀληθείαις  
ἐγκαλοῦντες ἡμῖν, ἅπερ οἱ τοῦ μύθου τοὺς τέττιγας μύρμη-  
κες, καὶ πεπονθότες ἴσμεν εἰς κενὸν νευρᾶς κτύπον ψαλάτ-  
50 τοντες καὶ μέλη φορμίζοντες ἄσιτα καὶ ἀδώρητα, οὐκ οἶδ'

35 Ἴρου πενέστερος: cf. Ioh. Chrys. in epistulam ad Ephesios (PG 62: 147 A) καὶ Ἴρου πενέστερον γενέσθαι; Procopius Gazaetus, ep. 75, 99 (41, 2; 53, 16 Garzya – Loenertz); Salzmann 28 || 38 οὐδὲν ἱερόν: Apostol. 13, 34 (CPG II 581–582) λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μηδενὸς ἀξίων; Karathanasis 24–25 || 40–41 πρὸς φρέαρ – διακονικοί: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 1168 καὶ πλυνέ γε αὐτὸς προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ φρέαρ τὰς κοιλίας, ἵν' εὐθέως διακονικὸς εἶναι δοκῇ || 47 καπυρὸν ἀνεκάγχασαν: cf. Man. Phil. Carmina 41 (II, 295, 1 Miller) Τίς οὐ γελάσει καπυρὸν καὶ καγχάσει || 49–50 εἰς κενὸν – ἀδώρητα: cf. Lycophr. Alex. 139–140; Mant. Prov. 1, 47 (CPG II 752) εἰς κενὸν χροῦειν τὰς χορδὰς: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσίτως καὶ ἀδώρως καθαριζόντων

40 προσιόντα ex προσιόντες corr P || 47 οἱ P || 48 μυρμήκας LPdTheil

Consequently truly happy would be the gardeners and the peasants and their children who have a full purse and a bag fuller than their belly. Hermes, the Muses, and scholarship are not deemed worthy of a sacred place, never mind one's daily bread.

In order then not to fall victims of famine very soon we must outwit the grievous situation; that is “I will take these guts, and wash them at the well, and so, at once, be Hermes ministrant”<sup>12</sup> and as a servant of my belly, performing exactly same things that Hermes did in the comedy. However, if I shall ever approach those for whom I work, begging for their help – compelled by hunger – they do not approach me with a happy countenance, as they should, but instead they right away make a face, furrowing their brows, putting up a show and assuming a sullen manner. There are some who even burst into loud laughter, reproaching me in the same way and with the same arguments the ants of the myth reproached the cicada, but I know from experience that “in vain I shall twang the noisy bowstring, making melodies that bring no food nor fee”. I do not know which of the two these

12. Aristophanes, *The Plutus*, tr. B. Bickley Rogers, 465.

ὁπότερον περὶ ἡμῶν δοκοῦν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἴτε περιεῖναι εἴτε  
τεθνάναι· τεθνάναι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς  
ἀληθείαις δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν μεταβάλοιεν — εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην,  
55 αὐτὸς δ' ἂν εἰδείης, ὁ διαιτᾶν ὀρθῶς ἐπιστάμενος.

θ'

Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἰού, ἰού, φθεγξαίμην ἂν ἥδη προσφόρως, παρώχθηκε μὲν  
ἀμητός, παρερρύηκε δὲ τρυγητός· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πυραμίδες  
πλήρεις καὶ πίθοι, ἀμφορεῖς καὶ ἀσκοί, ἄγγη τε καὶ σκεύη  
5 εὐρυχανθῇ καὶ εὐρύχωρα καὶ ἀποθήκῃ, μείους μὲν καθαί-  
ρούμεναι, μείζους δὲ ἀνοικοδομοῦμεναι πρὸς ὑποδοχὰς πλει-  
όνων. ἔμοι δὲ καὶ σιπύη καὶ πιθάκνη, ἡ μὲν, κενή, ἡ δέ, στενή,  
καὶ ἄμφω κοῦφα· καὶ λιμὸς ἀγγιθυρῶν καὶ θανάτῳ θύραν πα-  
ρανοιγνύς. παρεμυθεῖτο δ' ἂν ἴσως τὴν ἔνδειαν, εἰ παρακα-  
10 θήμενος Ἡφαιστος χυλεῦσιν κόμμα καὶ κίβδηλον ἡμῖν πα-  
ρεχάραττεν· ἡ γὰρ ἂν καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν ἀγαπητὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα,  
κίβδηλῳ κόμματι ποριζόμενα, καὶ σπανίζοντά γε καὶ ὑπο-

9. 1-2 παρώχθηκε — ἀμητός: cf. Jer. 8:20 παρῆλθε ἀμητός || 5-6 καθαί-  
ρούμεναι — ἀνοικοδομοῦμεναι: cf. Luc. 12:18 καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας  
καὶ μείζονας οἰκοδομήσω || 7 σιπύη — κενή: cf. Theoph. Sim. ep. 27 (16, 5  
Zanetto) ἡ δὲ σιπύη κενή, καὶ ἡ ἄλλως λιμοῦ μοι πεπλήρωται

3 τοις P || 6 ὑποδοχὰς ex ὑποδοχᾶς corr P || ὑποδοχὰς LPdTheil || 11 τὰ  
ἀναγκαῖα P || 12 τε (pro γε) LPdTheil

men think of me, to survive or to die; in my opinion to die, which  
is rather closer to truth and to reality.

If they would change their mind — otherwise, I could not  
know, but you should know, for you are in a position to arbitrate  
correctly.

## 9. To the Same

Iou, iou, I should utter now properly, the harvest season is gone  
and the grape gathering has passed. The store rooms and the  
wine jars, the amphorae, the wine skins and the other wide gap-  
ing vessels and large receptacles are now full in most house-  
holds. Small store houses are torn down and are rebuilt bigger  
in order to receive more. In my household, however, my meal  
tub is empty, the jar is narrow and both are unfilled. Famine  
stands before my doorstep and sets ajar the door to death. Per-  
haps, Hephaistos would have consoled me for my poverty if he  
lived with me, minting faulty and counterfeit coins for me. Cer-  
tainly, I would be gratified to procure with counterfeit money  
the desired essentials even if they are scarce and limping a little.

- σκάζοντα. νυνὶ δὲ κάκεϊνος, παρείς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀργυροκοπεῖν καὶ  
 παραχαράττειν, δρομαῖος ὁ χωλὸς ἀπιὼν ὥχετο καὶ παρὰ  
 15 Ταύροις καὶ Σκύθαις τὴν χειρωναξίαν ἀσκεῖ· καί, σκύτος  
 ἐνημμένος διήκον ἐς γόνατα γυμναῖς χερσὶ τε πυράγραν  
 φέρων καὶ σφύραν καὶ γυμνοσκελῶν, ἐστὼς ἐν λάκκῳ,  
 μυδροκτυπεῖ, θερμούς καταμβρῶν ἰδρῶτας ἐπ' ἄκμονος, οὐχ  
 ἥλους κόπτων καὶ σφῆνας, ἐφ' ὃν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συγγενῆ τε καὶ  
 20 κλέπτην ἀνασκολοπίσας προσηλώσειν ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, κατ'  
 ἑμοῦ δὲ κλοιὰ χαλκεύων περιαυχένια, περιβαλεῖν τε καὶ κα-  
 θείρξειν ἐν Ἄδου ἀνατεινόμενος. οὐδὲ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐκεῖσέ τις  
 Καύκασος ὑψηλὸς τε καὶ ὑψηνέμιος καὶ αὖραις Ὠκεανίσι κα-  
 ταπνεόμενος, οὐδὲ Προμηθεὺς ἐπηρωρησόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑποβρύχιος  
 25 Τάρταρος Ἀχέροντές τε καὶ Κωκυτοὶ καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντες καὶ  
 Τιτυοὶ καὶ Ἰξίονες κολαζόμενοι. καὶ δράσειεν ἂν με δεινά, εἰ  
 μὴ σύ γε δύσσαι ἀλκήν, Ἡρακλῆς προφθὰς ἀλεξίκακος.  
 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἄρα τοιαῦθ' Ἡφαιστος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος, ὃ

14 δρομαῖος ὁ χωλός: cf. Joh. Chrys. in nov. dominicam (PG 63: 930)  
 χωλούς δρομαίους ἀνέδειξας || 18 μυδροκτυπεῖ: cf. Aesch. Prom. 368 sq.  
 κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἤμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ Ἡφαιστος || 24-25 ὑποβρύχιος  
 Τάρταρος: cf. Hom. Il. 8, 481 βαθὺς δὲ τε Τάρταρος || 25 Ἀχέροντες – Πυ-  
 ριφλεγέθοντες: cf. Hom. Od. 10, 513-514 ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλε-  
 γέθων τε ῥέουσιν Κώκυτός θ' || 26 Τιτυοὶ – Ἰξίονες: cf. Lucian. Menip. 14,  
 17; Libanius, Declamationes, XIV, 39 (VI 108, 3-4 Foerster) ἀκούων οὐχ  
 ἧξίου προσέχειν ... τὸν Ἰξίονα, τὸν Τιτυόν; cf. Salzmann 12 || 26-27 εἰ μὴ  
 σύ – ἀλκήν: Hom. Il. 9, 231 || 27 Ἡρακλῆς – ἀλεξίκακος: cf. adn. ad ep.  
 7, 34

17 ἔστω LPdTheil || 26 Τιτυοὶ P

But now the lame fellow has gone away as fast as he could and practices his handicrafts among the Taurians and Skythians, leaving to us the minting and counterfeiting. Wearing a tanned hide which extends down to his knees he holds with bare hands a pair of fire tongs and a hammer, and standing with bare legs in a pit he forges a red hot iron, drenching the anvil with his hot sweat. He does not make nails and wedges in order to stake and nail on the Caucasus his own relative, the thief, but he forges an iron collar for me, threatening to carry me to Hades and incarcerate me. In that place there is not a lofty Caucasus sheltered from the winds and refreshed by the breeze of the Oceans, nor a Prometheus hanging on high, but the subterranean Tartarus and Acheron and Kokytos and Periphlegethon and the punished ones Tytios and Ixion. They will do unto me terrible things if you do not use all your strength, coming to my defence like another Heracles.

And not only Hephaistos deals with me like this. My horse

30 με βασιλεὺς ἐδωρήσατο, οὐκέτι δάκνει κατὰ Μορμῶ, Λύκιόν  
 τι θηρίον, ἀλλὰ κατεσπαθηκῶς βιβλία μὲν πρῶτα, εἴθ' ἱμάτια  
 κατεβρογχικῶς, ἔπειτα καὶ σάρκας διαλαφύξειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ  
 χόνδρους διαμασσήσασθαι καὶ ὅστ' αὖ συντρίψειν καὶ στέαρ  
 ἐκμυελίσειν καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ Ἥφαιστου καὶ θανάτου χεῖρω με  
 35 δράσειν ἐπαπειλεῖ. ἔστῳς γὰρ ἀπὸ φάτνης κενὸς τῷ μὴ  
 ἀκοστὰν μηδὲ προσπτύειν ἀχύροις ξηροῖς εὐπορεῖν κατὰ τοὺς  
 τοῦ Γλαύκου ἐκμέμνηεν, οἷς παρ' Ἀρκάσιν ἵππομανοῦς γε-  
 γευμένοις ἔργον Γλαῦκος γέγονε σπαραγμοῦ.

Ἐγὼ δέ, πρὶν ἀρκύων εἶσω πεσεῖν, καὶν ἀπεδόμην ἀρ-  
 40 γυριδίου καὶ εἰστιάθην· τίς δ' ὠνήσας ἂν ὕδραν τοιαύτην ἢ  
 χάρυβδιν; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἔστι Βορέου, οὐδ' ἐπ'  
 ἄκρων ἀνθερίκων ἱχνεύειν μεμάθηκεν, οὐδ' ὁμοῖος θέειν ἀνέ-  
 μοισιν, ἀλλὰ τις ἐστὶ στατός, ἔοικῶς χειρὶ γεγλυμμένῳ τε-  
 χνίτου. ἦν δὲ καὶ κινηθῆναι δεήσειε πῶποτε, δεῖ δὴ Βορέου  
 σφοδροῦ, μικρὸν ὑπανακουφίσοντος. αἰρεῖ δέ με καὶ δέος μὴ  
 45 τῷ πάντῃ πεζεύειν τῆς βασιλέως ἀποφοιτᾶν προσκυνήσεως.

Σὸν ἔργον οὖν ἂν εἶη, τοῦ ποριμωτάτου νοῦ, ἢ πρὸς ὃ τι  
 βέλτιον ἐπαρκέσαι ἢ μὴν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦτο δὴ φθεγγομένου  
 μου, τὸ ἰού, ἰού.

29 δάκνει — Μορμῶ: Theocr. 15, 40 Μορμῶ, δάκνει ἵππος; Salzmann  
 13 || 32-33 στέαρ — ἐκμυελίσειν: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 31 || 35-37 κατὰ τοὺς —  
 σπαραγμοῦ: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 33-34 || 38 ἀρκύων — πεσεῖν: cf. Eur. Cycl.  
 196 ἀρκύων μολεῖν ἔσω || 40-41 οὐδ' — μεμάθηκεν: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 18

29 καθ' LPdTheil, fort recte || 38 ἀπεδόμην LPdTheil

also which the Emperor has given me as a gift gnaws not like the Lycian beast Mormo, but at first squandered my books, then devoured my clothes and next threatens to tear apart my flesh and devour my tendons and my cartilage, break my bones, suck the fat out and threatens me with deeds worse than Hephaistos, famine and death put together. Standing famished in front of his manger, because he is not fed with barley and is not even supplied with dry straw upon which to spit, he has become mad like the horses of Glaukos which tore him to pieces after they had savoured the Arcadia plant which maddens them.

I would have sold him for little money long ago before I became his victim and with it I would have gotten something to eat, but who would buy such a Hydra or a Charybdis? He is not even a descendant of Boreas and has learned neither to fly over the tips of asphodel nor to be swift like the wind but he stands simply like a statue there, as if sculpted by the hands of an artist. If he ever needs to move he needs a strong north wind to help him a little in his start. I even fear that I will cease to render my homage to the Emperor since I must go everywhere on foot.

It would then be your own work, ingenious mind, either to help me improve my condition or to let me cry still iou, iou.

Ι'  
Φωκᾶ φοιτητῇ

p. 115

Ἐπαγγέλη μὲν τῷ διδασκάλῳ πολλά, πράττεις δὲ οὐδ'  
 ὀλίγα, δέον πράξει τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν νικᾶν. σπεῦδε τοίνυν ὑπὲρ  
 5 | φιλοῦντος πατρὸς οὐ λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἔργοις, προσέτι δὲ  
 καὶ παιδείᾳ μακρὰ καμόντος ὑπὲρ σοῦ, καὶ τὸ τῷ γῆρᾳ  
 καταπῖπτον ὑπάνεχε τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντι-  
 πελάργωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, λειτουργήσω μὲν ἐγὼ τῷ χρεῶν  
 10 | σιτοδείᾳ, ἀπερεύξεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἵππος τὸ πνεῖν καὶ πεσὼν δου-  
 πήσει, κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν. εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀποδοθήσεται μὲν  
 αὐτὸς ἀργυρίου, τραφήσομαι δὲ ἐγὼ, εἴτ' ἐν γωνίᾳ καθε-  
 δοῦμαι καὶ παραβύστω, ἀνέκφορος μικροῦ καὶ ἀπρόιτος· σοὶ  
 δὲ πόνων μελήσει πολλαπλῶν ἀνθ' ἁπλοῦ, περὶ τε σίτου καὶ  
 κριθῆς ἀναφέροντι. πρὶν οὖν πειραθῆναι δεινῶν, σπεῦσον  
 λῦσαι προφθὰς τὰ δεινὰ.

10. 2-3 Ἐπαγγέλη – ὀλίγα: cf. Theoph. Sim. ep. 37 (23, 2 Zanetto)  
 Ἐπαγγέλη πολλά καὶ πράττεις ὀλίγα || 6-7 ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. Mich.  
 Chon. ep. 117 (196, 19-20 Kolovou) καλὴ δὲ οὐχ' ἤττον καὶ ἡ τῶν θρεπτη-  
 ρίων ἀντιπελάργωσις; Apostol. 14, 15, (CPG II 607 sq.); Salzmann 79-80  
 || 8-9 πεσὼν δουπήσει: cf. Hom. Il. 4, 504 δούπησεν δὲ πεσὼν || 10-11 ἐν  
 γωνίᾳ – παραβύστω: locus communis; cf. Joh. Chrys. in ep. ad Hebraeos  
 (PG 63: 217) ἄρα ἐν γωνίᾳ ἄρα ἐν παραβύστω

4 πᾶτερος LPdTheil || 6 πατερι LPdTheil || 7 χρεῶν LPdTheil

## 10. To the Student Phokas

You promise your teacher a lot, but you do not make the least effort, although you should realize your pledges with deeds. Hasten to your father who shows his love not in words but in deeds and who has striven greatly for your instruction. Sustain the falling of his old age like the praiseworthy storks which sustain their parents. Otherwise, I will depart this life famished and my horse, falling down with a thud, shall belch forth his last breath, as the poet says. But if you wish, I shall sell him for some money and I shall feed myself, but then I shall crawl into a dark corner and I will not want to come out any more. Then you will have to labour much more than now, since you need to give only wheat and barley. Before then you experience such ills, come forward quickly and resolve the situation.



ια'

## Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Χωνιάτης, ὃν χρηστότατον μὲν ὁ τρόπος, δυστυχέστατον δὲ  
 ὁ χρόνος συνίστησι καὶ δαιμόνιον τὸ δεινόν — οὐδὲ γάρ, οὐδὲ  
 συμβαῖνον ἔστι τῷ τρόπῳ —, οὗτος δὲ Χωνιάτης, ὁ καλὸς  
 5 καγαθός, βίβλον Ἀριστοτέλους τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου πέπομφε,  
 σοῦ μὲν ἡτηχότος, ἐμοῦ δὲ κεκομικότος. ταύτην ὥτεο θάττον  
 ἐφ' ὅτι περ ἤκεν ἐπανήξειν ἐνηργηκυῖαν· ὑπερήμερουσός τις δ'  
 ἐξ δεῦρο προσανιᾶται, οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖν δεδιώς, ἀπεμπολήσων  
 10 ριέστηκεν, ὃν μὴ ὅτι γε μία βίβλος Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι μὴ  
 ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰ περιῶν ἀπεμποληθεὶς βίβλοις ἀπάσαις,  
 ἱκανῶς ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα διέθρεψαν.

ιβ'

## Δουκαίτῃ

Ἐγὼ καὶ πάλαι τὸν χρηστὸν Δουκαίτην φιλῶν οὐχ ἤττον καὶ  
 νῦν ἤδη φιλῶ καὶ γε φιλήσοιμι, ὅτι τε καλλίων καλῶν καὶ

11. 7 ἐνηργηκυῖαν LPdTheil || 8 δεδιώς LPdTheil

12. 3 καλλίων — καλῶν: cf. Synes. ep. 76 (135, 7-8 Garzya) καὶ καλῶν  
 ἔδοξεν εἶναι καλλίων

3 ὅτι ex ὅτε corr P

## 11. To the Grand Logothete &lt;Theodoros&gt; Metochites

Choniates, who is by nature very kind but whom circumstances  
 and the dreadful demon have made hapless — this last does not  
 agree at all with his character — this good and noble Choniates  
 had sent to your excellency a book of Aristotle which you had  
 requested and I brought to you. He had presumed that the book,  
 having accomplished the purpose for which it was sent, would  
 come back to him most quickly. But since the book to this day is  
 long overdue, he is anxious not because he fears that he will lose  
 the book but because he wants to sell it in order to get provi-  
 sions. The prosperity of this wise man has so completely re-  
 versed herself that not only one book of Aristotle, but even if  
 the philosopher himself were he in life and all his books were to  
 be sold, it would not have sufficed to feed him.

## 12. To Doukaïtes

I have loved long ago the good Doukaïtes and I love him now no  
 less and I shall always love him because he excels by far in good-  
 ness and kindness and because he is ready to offer friends what

5 χρηστῶν χρηστότερος καὶ ῥάων τοῖς φίλοις παρέχειν ἅττ' ἂν  
καλῶς ἐπαγγέλλοιεν. τοιγαροῦν δεῖται σου τις δι' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ  
δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ· ὁ δεόμενος γὰρ ἱερεύς, ὃς δίκαιος εἴη ἂν,  
ἐφ' ὅτῳ τυγχάνει δεόμενος, βοηθῆσαι, πείθοντος μὲν τοῦ δι-  
καίου, πείθοντος δὲ τοῦ ἀξιωματοῦ, προσθεῖν δ' ἂν καὶ ἐμοῦ,  
οὐχ ἥττον δὲ καὶ τῆς σῆς καλοκαγαθίας. εὖ γὰρ δράσας τὸν  
10 ἱερέα σὲ δράσεις αὐτόν, ἐπιμᾶλλον μὲν σέβων Θεόν, εὐλαβού-  
μενος δὲ ἱερωσύνην, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Φίλιον αἰδεσθεῖς.

ιγ'

### Τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁρους

ἦσας – ἀλλὰ πῶς δοκεῖς; – ἦσας, οἷς ἐπεπόμφεις· ὅτι τε τὰ  
πεμφθέντα ἐξ Ὁρους ἁγίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ πεπομφότος πνευ-  
ματικὴ τῷ ὄντι διάθεσις. ἀνθ' ὧν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σκεύους,  
5 ἡ σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς χρηματίσας, κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν μέγαν  
ἀπόστολον, ἀντ' ἐλαίου, τῷ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς Ἀαρὼν μύρω χρι-  
σθείης, ἀντὶ κρόκου, μὴ λωτὸν ἐρσήεντα μὴδ' ὑάκινθον, ὁσμὴν

11 τὸν Φίλιον αἰδεσθεῖς: locus communis, cf. e.g. Plat. Gorg. 500 b,  
519c; Synes. ep. 49 (Garzya 90, 56)

4 χρηστῶν LPdTheil

13. 5 σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς: Act. Ap. 9:15 || 6 τῷ ἐπὶ – μύρω: cf. Ps. 132:2  
ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς ... Ἀαρὼν || 7 ἀντὶ κρόκου – ὑάκινθον: cf. Hom. Il.  
14, 348 λωτὸν θ' ἐρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἢδ' ὑάκινθον || 7-8 ὁσμὴν δ' εὐωδίας:  
Gen. 8:21; Ephes. 5:12 et passim

they may need for a good purpose. Now someone beseeches you  
through me and I beseech you in the name of God. The suppliant  
is a priest and you would be justified if you help him by respond-  
ing to his request. Justice and his office advocate for this, I would  
also add my person and not the least your goodness. The favour  
you do the priest will benefit you also since through it you prove  
above all your reverence for God, your respect for the priest-  
hood, and in addition your regard for philios Zeus.

### 13. To the Protos of the Holy Mountain

You have made me rejoice – you cannot imagine how much –  
you have indeed with the things you sent me. Because the gifts  
come from the Holy Mountain and the sender's disposition is  
truly spiritual. For the holy vessel you sent me may you become  
a chosen instrument in the words of Paul the great Apostle, for  
the oil may you be anointed with the precious ointment which  
runs from the head of Aaron, for the saffron may you receive not  
a dewy lotus and a hyacinth, but the sweet savour of the Spirit

δ' εὐωδίας σχολῆς πνευματικῆς καὶ τὴν ἐν Παραδείσῳ χλόην  
 ἀμάραντον καὶ ἀκήρατον. νεμέτωσάν τι καὶ οἱ δοίδυκες,  
 10 ἀξιόλογόν τε καὶ πρόσφορον, εἴη δ' ἂν ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέραιν  
 χεροῖν τὰς ἀκενώτους καὶ διαιωνιζούσας τρυφὰς ἀριστᾶν.

ιδ'

### Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοφάλτῃ

Ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πρωτοφάλτην, πιστῆς φιλίας  
 τρέφων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ χάριν ἐπαγγέλλω μικράν· ἢ δ' ἔστιν,  
 δλύνθων πέμψις, ἐφ' ἣν τὰς ἐμάς ἐρινεάσαι συκᾶς, ἀντιπεμφθή-  
 5 σονται δέ οἱ σύκα γλυκάζοντα. πάντως οὐκ ἄχαρι τὸ ἀν-  
 τάλλαγμα, ὅτι μὴδὲ Διομήδει, χάλκεια χρυσεῖων ὅπλων  
 πρὸς Γλαῦκον ἀμείβοντι.

11 ἀκενώτους — τρυφὰς: cf. Leo VI Sapiens Hom. 17, 364 (256-257 Th. Antonopoulou) τρυφῆς ἀπολαύων τῆς ἀκενώτου

14. 6 χάλκεια χρυσεῖων: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 236 χρύσεα χαλκείων; Karathanasis 35-36; Strömberg 58

and the eternal and pure green of Paradise. For the pestles you should also receive something special and appropriate for them - may you feast with both hands in abundance and perpetual luxuriousness.

### 14. To the Protopsaltes of the Emperor

The good and noble Protopsaltes whom I prize with true friendship I ask for a small favour: Namely, to send me wild figs in order to mature the fruit of my fig trees and in return for this favour he will later receive sweet figs. At any rate, the exchange is not at all adverse and so it was in the case of Diomedes who had traded his bronze arms for the golden ones of Glaukos.

ιε'

Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαδέλφῳ  
κυρῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ

Ἦν μὲν, ὡς λόγος, ἔργον Δαιδάλου, δαιμονίως ἑαυτὸν σὺν  
Ἰκαρίῳ πετερώσαντα τῷ παιδί διὰ πελάγους ἑναερίως  
5 πέτεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον Κρήτηθεν, ἀποδρᾶναι μηχανω-  
μένους τὸν Κρήτης τύραννον Μίνω, ὃν ἐπὶ Πασιφάῃ, τῇ παιδί  
μὲν Ἥλιου, Μίνω δὲ γυναικί, δολίως ἠδίκηκε Δαίδαλος, καὶ  
Ἥλιου Δαίδαλον ἀμυναμένου, πελάγους ἔργον ὁ παῖς Ἰκά-  
ριος γέγονε, τὴν κλῆσιν ἔπωνυμίαν ἀφείς τῷ πελάγει. ἔμοι  
10 δέ, τίς ἂν χρήσειε πτέρυγας πετασθῆναι κατὰ περιστεράν καὶ  
καταπαῦσαι πρὸς σέ, τὸ ἑμὸν μέλημα, Σαπφῷ φησιν ἡ σοφὴ;  
τίς δ' ἂν ποτε καὶ γένοιτο μηχανή, ἥ γῆν διαπεραιωθέντα  
μακρὰν ἢ θάλατταν διαβάντα πολλὴν ἐκ Βυζαντίδος ἐς  
Ἀλβανίδα κατὰραι κακῆ τὴν λῆξιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῇ ἐφέσει  
15 χάρισασθαι; ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ οὐρεὰ τε σκιόεντα θά-  
λασσά τε ἤχησσαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Σειρηνεῖαν ἀκτὴν ἐφ' ἵστοῦ  
δεδεμένος παρήμειβεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥστ' ἐμφορηθῆναι μὲν τῆς

15. 3-9 ἔργον Δαιδάλου – πελάγει: cf. Nic. Basilac. Progymnasmata 18, 11 sq. (Pignani) || 10-11 πτέρυγας – καταπαῦσαι: cf. Ps. 54: 6 Τίς δώσει μοι πτέρυγας ὥσει περιστερᾶς, καὶ πετασθήσομαι καὶ καταπαύσω; || 11 ἑμὸν μέλημα: cf. Sapph. fr. 163, 1 (Lobel – Page) μέλημα τῷμον || 15-16 ἐπειὴ – ἤχησσαν: Hom. Il. 1, 157 sq. || 16-17 Σειρηνεῖαν – Ὀδυσσεύς: cf. Hom. Od. 12, 178 sq.

2 κυρίῳ LPdTheil || τῷ] om. LPdTheil || 4 ἑναερίως LPdTheil

# 15. To the cousin of the Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos

We hear that Daidalos made in a incredible way for his son Ikaros and for himself wings and flew from Crete over the sea to the mainland bringing about their escape from Minos, the tyrant of Crete, whom Daidalos on account of Pasiphae, Minos's wife, who was the daughter of Helios, had treacherously harmed. Nevertheless Helios then took revenge against Daidalos, drowning his son Ikaros in the sea, which ever since is named after him. As for me, who will offer me wings to fly like a dove and come near you, the object of my care, as the wise Sappho says. Which invention could ever make it possible for someone to traverse the vast land or cross the great sea from Byzantium and come to Albania and there ending his trip to fulfil his wish? For full many things lie between us – shadowy mountains and sounding sea.<sup>13</sup> And if Ulysses sailed along the coast of the Sirens, bound to the mast, in order to be filled with their sweet music and at the same

13. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 15.

ἐκείνων μελιχρᾶς μουσικῆς, περιεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῷ βίῳ, πόσου  
 με δοκεῖς ἐφεῖσθαι, λελυμένον καὶ ταῦτα, μακρὰν ἐκπτῆναι,  
 20 τῆς ἔμμελοῦς σου Σειρῆνος ἀκροασόμενον; οὐδὲ γάρ, οὐδὲ τὸν  
 Μέλητος οἶμαι, τὸν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀμίμητον, τοσοῦτον τὸν  
 ἡδυεπῆ θαυμάζειν Νέστορα, ὅσον ἐμὲ τῆς σῆς Καλλιόπης  
 ἐξῆφθαι, γλυκίῳ μέλιτος ἀπορρεούσης αὐδῇ. τὸν Παλαμῆ-  
 δην δέ, τί τις ἂν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ φαίη σοφώτερον, ἐπ' ἐξευρέσει  
 25 πραγμάτων κυβευμάτων τε καὶ γραμμάτων σοφῶν; εἴ τις  
 βούλοιτ' ἂν τοῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς παραθεῖναι τὰ σά, ἣν δ' ἂν  
 ἡρημένῳ μοι καὶ πάλιν εἰς μνήμην ἐπανελθεῖν Ὀδυσσέως καὶ  
 τῆς τῶν ἐπῶν τάνδρὸς ἐπομβρίας, νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότων χει-  
 μερίῃσι· τό τ' ἀγχίνουν καὶ ποικίλον καὶ πολυμήχανον οὐκ  
 30 ἂν ἐκδεδράμηκα, εἰ μὴ καὶ δεινόν τι τάνδρῳ προσῆν, ὑπειλημ-  
 μένῳ ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὐτως.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ μήθ' οἷόν τε πτερωθῆναι μήτ' ἐκπτάντι τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἐφιέμενον ἀποτίσαι, πλοῦν ἄλλον χρῶμαι τοῖς γράμ-  
 35 μασι, πτερωτοῖς οὖσι τῷ μακρὰν ἀφίπτασθαι καὶ μέντοι καὶ  
 πτερόεσσι κεκλημένοις τῷ ποιητῇ, οὐχ ἥμισυ δέ πως καὶ  
 τῷ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτῶν πέτεσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι τοῖς φίλοις καὶ

23 γλυκίῳ — αὐδῇ: Hom. Il. 1, 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυ-  
 κίων ῥέεν αὐδῇ || 23-25 Παλαμῆδην — κυβευμάτων: cf. Theodosius Gramm.  
 (52, 6 Götting) μόνος δὲ ὁ Παλαμῆδης ἐφεῦρε τὴν κυβευτικὴν τέχνην; cf.  
 Salzmann 16 || 28-29 νιφάδεσσιν — χειμερίῃσι: Hom. Il. 3, 222 || 31 ζάκοτόν  
 — αὐτως: Hom. Il. 3, 220 || 33 πλοῦν ἄλλον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 15-16 || 35  
 πτερόεσσι κεκλημένοις: cf. Hom. Od. 1, 122 et passim

33 ἀποτίσαι P || 35 οὐχ ἥμισυ P

time remain alive, how great do you suppose is my own yearning  
 to undertake this long flight in order to hear your melodious  
 siren and this without being fastened? I do not think that the  
 son of Meles, the unrivalled poet Homer, had admired the sweet-  
 speaking Nestor as much as I am inflamed by your Muse from  
 whose tongue flows speech sweeter than honey. Palamedes had  
 among his contemporaries acquired great fame as a most wise  
 man on account of his inventions of the dice, the alphabet, and  
 other things. If someone would wish to compare your accom-  
 plishments with those of our contemporaries, and I should bring  
 to mind again Ulysses and the flood of his speeches which were  
 like snowflakes on a winter day, I would not be able to describe  
 your cleverness, diversity and shrewdness; moreover the person  
 who would make a comparison of you shall face the conse-  
 quence, being "deemed as a churlish man and naught but a  
 fool".<sup>14</sup>

But since I have no wings and through flight I cannot fulfil  
 the desire of my soul, I find recourse in the written word as the  
 next best way, because the words of love have wings and can fly  
 far away. For this reason they were called by the poet "winged",  
 not least because through them one imagines that one can fly  
 and join his friends and converse with them. In case you re-

14. *Ibid.*, I, 133.

ὀμιλεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐγκαλεῖς μοι λήθην τῷ μὴ καὶ πρότερον ἡκέναι  
 σοι γράμματα, ἀγῶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀντεγκαλέσω θεράπουσιν, οἳ,  
 τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πολλάκις καταλαβόντες, οὐδ' ἐφάπαξ παρ'  
 40 ἡμᾶς ἀφίκοντο, καὶ μὴ γράμματα κομίσοντες, καὶ ἀπὸ στό-  
 ματος ἔρεῖν. οὐκοῦν οὐδ', ἐδέξαντο — πῶς γὰρ ἄν; — οὐς οὐκ  
 ὁμμασιν ἀλλ' ὥσιν ἐωράκαμεν. αἰτῷ δὲ δοῦναι δίκην αὐτοῦς  
 τὸ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, μηδὲν ἐρήμην καταδικασθέντας.

Ἦν ταῦτά τε καὶ γραμμάτων ἀξιώσεις ἡμᾶς τοῦ λοιποῦ,  
 45 Ἡράκλεις τῆς ἡδονῆς· ἦν δὲ καὶ μετ' εὐεργεσίας ἐπηγγελ-  
 μένης, βαβαὶ τῆς ἀποτίσεως τοῦ ὀφλήματος. οἶσθα τὴν ὀφει-  
 λὴν ἦτις, εἰ μὴ λήθαιον πέπωκας, εἰ δὲ καὶ πέπωκας,  
 ἀντικεράσω σοι τὸ τοῦ μνήμονος. ἐμνημόνευσας, οἶδα, πινὼν  
 τὸ πόμα, ἵππου τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ, ὃν ἤτησα μὲν ἐγώ, σὺ δὲ πέμ-  
 50 ψειν κατένευσας κεφαλῇ, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀσφαλιζόμενος·  
 τοῦτον σὺν γράμμασιν ἐλθεῖν ἀπαιτῷ.

ις'

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἄριστε καὶ μέγιστε λογοθετῶν, ὥς μὴ τὸν βασιλέα  
 πράγμασιν ἀπείροις κοπτόμενον κόπτοιμι· ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ  
 τε σῇ περιφανείᾳ δι' ὄχλου γιγνοίμην, ἐμαυτῷ δ' ἂν τὰναγ-

43 ἐρήμον LPdTheil

16. 4 γιγνοίμεν LPdTheil || 4-5 τὰ ἡναγχαῖα P

proach me for forgetfulness because I have not written you ear-  
 lier, I should reproach in my turn your servants who have come  
 many times to Constantinople and have not visited me even  
 once, either to deliver a letter or at least to convey greetings. So  
 it happened that they did not get any letters from me — how  
 could it be possible — since I have not seen them with my eyes  
 but only with my ears. I ask, instead of being punished to receive  
 forgiveness and not to be condemned by default.

If you would grant this request and honour me soon with a let-  
 ter, by Hercules, it would be a great joy. But it would be still greater  
 if you would pay your debt and fulfil your promise. You know what  
 is your debt in case you have not drunk the drink of forgetfulness.  
 If you have drunk it, I shall pour for you the opposite drink, that  
 of remembrance. Having taken this drink, I know that you have  
 recalled the Albanian horse, which I asked from you and you con-  
 sented to send — securing the promise by nodding your head. I de-  
 mand now that the horse come together with your letters.

## 16. To the Grand Logothete <Theodoros> Metochites

Best and greatest of all the Logothetes! In order that I do not be-  
 come a nuisance to the Emperor who is in any case burdened by  
 countless cares or become bothersome to your excellency, I had  
 decided to give up my work as a teacher and disassociate myself

- 5 καῖα περιποιόμην, δόξαν ἀπερρωγένοι παίδων τριβῆς σχο-  
 λάσαι τε καὶ συνείναι, περὶ γῆς ἐργασίαν τετράμην, ἵν',  
 ἐκποριζούσης τὰ ἑαυτῆς, τὴν ἀνάγκην παραμυθοίμην τῆς φύ-  
 σεως καὶ τὴν λύτταν τῆς γαστροῦ ἀναστέλλοιμι. ἔλθοναν  
 10 δὲ τὰναντία πεισόμενος· ἀντιπεριέστηκε γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον  
 μῆνιμα, ἕτερα μὲν κεῦθον ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλα δὲ βάζον. καὶ γὰρ  
 οἱ γῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν χρηπιδων ἰνεγῆγέρατό μοι οἰκοδομήματα  
 ἢ τε τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡτοίμαστο πρόνοια ἐπὶ χρεῖ τε χρέος  
 ἀνάλωτο — ὑπεξηρήσθω γὰρ πόνος ἐπὶ πόνῳ — βίαιον ἐνέ-  
 σκηψε, πρύμναν ἀντικρουσάμενον καὶ πάντ' ἀναλῦσαν ἀνέ-  
 15 στησε. καίτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς μὲν, οἵπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες  
 μετωκίσθησαν, Δῆμητρος ἄλλη πλέθρα ἀρόσεις τε ἡδὲ καὶ  
 ἐργα βοῶν ἀροτήρων· ἐμοὶ δέ, ποῖ ποτε γῆς ἵτεον; τὸ δὲ καὶ  
 βοώτην ἀεργὸν τρέφειν καὶ βοῦς οὐκ ἀροτριώσας καὶ πάνθ'  
 20 ὑπὲρ πῦρ κεῖσθαι γεωργίας ἄρμενα, φάναι δὴ καθ' Ἡσίοδον,  
 καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐπιτετρίφθαι παντάπασι, τί τοῦθ' ἕτερον, ὅτι  
 μὴ γῆν ἀροῦν Περσεφόνης καὶ Πλούτωνος;

10 ἕτερα — βάζον: cf. Hom. Il. 9, 313 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεῦθον ἐνὶ φρεσίν,  
 ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη || 14 πρύμναν ἀντικρουσάμενον: cf. Apostol. 14, 77 (CPG II  
 623) πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο; Karathanasis 90 || 18-19 βοώτην ἀεργὸν — ἄρμενα:  
 cf. Hesiod. Op. 43 καὶ ἀεργὸν ἐόντα αἶψα κε πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ  
 καταθεῖο; cf. Karathanasis 71-72

9 τὰ ναντία P || 13 ἀνάλωντο P || ὑπεξηρήσθω LPdTheil || 18 πάνθ' P

from the profession in order to become a farm worker and earn my daily bread from the fruits of the land so I could pacify my raging hunger. But I was mistaken in my assumption because I experienced the contrary. My wrathful destiny, however, brought down my hopes, burying one thing in her mind and bringing to light another. Because there, where I began from the very foundations to construct a building and make the necessary preparations for the cultivation of the land, whereby I should have desired greater debts — aside from my toil and labour — destiny attacked me violently by pulling back, upsetting and ruining everything. And while the others, who left the place changing abode, in their new homes possess land, oxen, and ploughs, I have nowhere to go. But to support an unemployed ploughman or feed the idle oxen or have farming tools hanging over the fireplace — to say it in the words of Hesiod, thereby running the risk of being condemned altogether — in what does it differ from cultivating the land of Pluto and Persephone?

ιζ'  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ μὲν ἦν τῶν ἄκραν καρτερίαν φιλοσοφούντων, ἦνεσχόμην  
 ἄν, καὶ περαιτέρω θέλων εἶναι φιλοσοφώτερος· ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτ'  
 ἐκείνου τοῦ κόμματος μήτε τοῦ τῶν μηδαμῇ φιλοσοφίαν  
 5 ἀσκούντων, μετῆναι τὴν μέσσην, ἀσφαλεστέραν κρίνων τῶν  
 παρ' ἐκάτερα, περιδεδιῶς ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἑλλείψει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 μηδὲ ταύτης ὠνάμην, ποίαν τραποίμην ἀμνηχανῶ. οἷ τε γὰρ  
 τῆς προσδοκίας λιμένες ἐκλείσθησαν ὅ τε τῶν χρηστῶν ἐλ-  
 πίδων πῖθος ἐκπεπωμάτισται, αἱ δὲ φροῦδοι πρὸς ἀέρα πε-  
 10 πόττηνται· καὶ κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ, οὐχ ὅτι τετράκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 μυριάκις, καὶ ἰού, ἰού, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ τῆς κωμωδίας.

Ἀλλ' ἦν, σοῦ τὴν βασιλέως ἐρυθροδόκην ἀναπετάσαντος καὶ  
 τὸν ὑπογραφέα κάλαμον ἐξερύσαντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐεργετῶν  
 ἐρυθρογραφήσειεν, ἐγὼ καὶ Κόδρου, φασίν, εὐγενέστερος καὶ  
 15 Μίδου πολυολβότερος· εἰ δὲ μή, Διογένη τὸν κύνα θαυμάσο-  
 μαι, σταλαγμὸν τύχης μᾶλλον ἢ πῖθον φρενῶν προτιμήσαντα.

17. 8 τῆς προσδοκίας λιμένες: cf. Georg. Bardanes ep. ad Germanum II (106, 63-64 R.-J. Loenertz) ὁ ἐν προσδοκίᾳ σωτηριώδους λιμῆν || 8-9 ὅ τε — ἐκπεπωμάτισται: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 19-20 || 11 ἰού, ἰού: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 276 || 14 Κόδρου — εὐγενέστερος: cf. Greg. Cypr. 2, 94 (CPG II 109); Apostol. 8, 6 (CPG II 425); Salzmann 24 || 15 Μίδου πολυολβότερος: cf. Diogen. 8, 53 (CPG I 316); Karathanasis 37 || 16-17 σταλαγμὸν — προτιμήσαντα: cf. Diog. Sinop. fr. 2 (I, 256, 1 Snell) θέλω τύχης σταλαγμὸν ἢ φρενῶν πῖθον

3 φιλοσοφώτερος LPdTheil

17. To the same

Were I a stoic philosopher, I should have endured all this, especially as my inclination would be to become further engaged with philosophy. Yet I am neither a stoic nor one of those who have no part in the study of philosophy, but one who has chosen the middle road, for I consider it the safest of the two, fearing both extremities — excess and scarcity. But since I had no gain from it, I do not know any more which road to take. The harbour of my expectations is now closed, the lid from the vessel of my good hopes is taken off and my hopes are vanished, tossed in the air. I am unfortunate not only four times, but ten thousand times, and as in the comedy I cry iou, iou.

But if you open the ink-pot with the red ink of the Emperor and hand him the pen with which he signs and if the Emperor in his benevolence puts his signature, then I will be as they say nobler than Kodros and richer than Midas. Otherwise, I will honour Diogenes the Cynic, who preferred a drop of good luck to a wine-jar of intellect.



ιη'

## Τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Γλυκεῖα μὲν ἡ γεῦσις τῷ μέλιτι, ὧ καὶ τοῦ Πυλίου Νέστορος  
 μελιχρότερε καὶ γλυκίῳ μέλιτος ῥέων αὐδὴν ἤπερ ἐκείνος·  
 τότε δ' ἂν τὸ μέλι γλυκίστον κρίνοιτο, ὅτ' ἂν οὐκ ἄκρω δακτύ-  
 5 λῳ τις γεύσαιτο, ἀλλ' ἱκανῶς ἐμφορηθεῖη. τί βούλεται μοι τὸ  
 αἰνιγμα; ἥδυνε μὲν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἐς κόρον δέ· ὥσι γὰρ ἄκροις  
 ἐνήχητο. πεμφθῆτω δὴ φιλοπονώτερον γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεῖς  
 ὅσῳ μᾶλλον γνωσθήσεται, ἢ τοσούτῳ καὶ μᾶλλον ἥσει καὶ  
 θαυμασθήσεται.

p. 119

ιβ'

## Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἔδει μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμὲ παρῆναι καὶ λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ γράμμασιν  
 ἐγκαλέσαι σου τῷ παιδί· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ οἶόν τε, ὅχλου σε πραγ-  
 μάτων περιστοιχίζοντος, ὥς μὴ παρὼν γενοίμην προσθήκη  
 5 τις, γράμμασιν ἁπλῶν ὁμιλῶ. ἴσθι σοι τὸν φίλτατον ὀλιγωρεῖν  
 μὲν παιδείας, ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ ἱππεύσεως, ἀμέλει κελητίζοντά  
 τε καὶ ῥυτῆρσιν ὅλοις ἐφιέντα περιελαύνειν τὰς ἀγυῖας ἱππο-  
 δρόμους τε καὶ θέατρα περιθέειν, ἀγερωχοῦντα καὶ θριαμβεύ-

18. 3 γλυκίῳ — αὐδὴν: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 23 || 4-5 ἄκρω — γεύσαιτο: Zenob. 1, 61 (CPG I, 24); Diogen. 1, 29 (CPG II 5) ἄκρω ἀψασθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ || 6-7 ὥσι ἐνήχητο: cf. Nic. Chon., Historia (427, 23-24 van Dieten,) μὴδ' ἄκροις ὥσι τὰ ἐπαδόμενα ἐνηχούμενος

## 18. To the same Grand Logothete

The taste of honey is sweet, I say this to you, from whose tongue flows speech sweeter than honey and who has surpassed Nestor of Pylos. Honey becomes most sweet, when one tastes it not with his finger-tip, but when he has richly enjoyed it. What is the meaning of the riddle? Your discourse gratified me but not fully, because I heard it only with the tips of my ears. Let it be sent to me and I will read it with greater diligence; and the more I deepen in the Discourse the more it will please and be admired.

## 19. To the Same

I should be present and deliver my charges against your son by word-of-mouth and not by post. But since it is impossible, as you are surrounded by many cares and lest my presence becomes an additional burden to you, I write this letter to you. You should know that your dear son neglects his studies and devotes himself to riding horses. He runs in the streets at full gallop here and there, rides his horse to the hippodrome and to the other spectacles in full arrogance, triumphant and parading as if he was

- 10 οντα καὶ ὥσπερ παρασήμοις τοῖς ἐστολισμένοις πομπεύοντα.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ νουθετηθεὶς πολλάκις οὐκ ἤρυθρίασεν οὐδὲ σεσω-  
 φρόνιστο, μαστιγωθῆναι δεῖσαν καὶ μεμαστίγωτο. πεμ-  
 πταίαν σήμερον αὕτη μετὰ τὴν μάστιγα, ἐν αἷς οὔτε παρὰ τὸ  
 Μουσεῖον πεφοίτηχεν οὐθ', ὅ φασιν, ἄκρω δακτύλῳ λόγων  
 15 ἔγεύσατο, χαίρει δ' ἱππέαις καὶ θυμελικοῖς ὄργανοις.  
 Ἄλλ' ἦν ἀπῆσαν ἐσθημάτων λαμπρότητες καὶ ζώνη δερμα-  
 τίνη τὴν ὀσφὺν περιέζωστο, καὶ μήθ' ἵπποις ἐπωχεῖτο χρυ-  
 σηνίοις, ποσὶ δ' ἐχρῆτο πεζεύουσιν, ἐκράτει μὲν αὐτὸς ἀλο-  
 γίας, οὐ κατεξωρχεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ ἀλογία. ἔμδον ἦν ἔργον  
 20 ἀγγεῖλαι, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῇ ψήφῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ μελήσει περὶ  
 τοῦ σοῦ.

x'

### Τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

- Οὔτε τὸ αἰτεῖν ἀδεές, ἤνικ' ἂν μὴ δέοι, οὔτ' αὖ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖν  
 ἀσφαλές, ἐπειδὴ ἐνδεχόμενον, ἔχει δὲ παρ' ἑκατέρῳ χώραν  
 εὐρεῖν, ὅπουτ' ἂν δεόντως τις χρῶτο καιρῷ. τοιγαροῦν ἦτουν  
 5 μὲν ἐγκαίρως ἐγὼ, σὺ δὲ κατένευες κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ

19. 13-14 ἄκρω — ἐγεύσατο: cf. adn. ad. ep. 18, 4-5 || 15-16 ζώνη — πε-  
 ριέζωστο: cf. Matth. 3: 4 καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ

13 πεφοίτηχε LPdTheil || 16 ἐποχεῖτο P

20. 3 ἀσφαλές] supra scr P

exhibiting the insignia with which he was decorated. But since he was many a time admonished and he did not blush neither was he brought to reason, he had to be whipped and he was whipped. Today is the fifth day after the flogging and he has neither appeared in the school nor has he, as they say, with his fingertips touched his homework, but he enjoys riding horses, music and theatrical spectacles.

But if he were deprived of his luxurious garments and wore a leather belt around his waist, if he did not ride horses with golden reins and instead went on foot, he would be a master over his folly and folly would not have him in her power. It was my duty to communicate all this to you. Thereafter, it is your task to take care of your son.

### 20. To the same Grand Logothete

Neither is the request without a risk when it is improper nor is it safe not to ask when it is anticipated, but both can be justified if one chooses the proper occasion. For this very reason and in accordance with circumstances I have requested something from you and you have given your consent nodding your head

πλειστάκις ὠμίλεις περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὁ δέ, χρηστός ὢν, ἐπηγγέλλετο τὴν δόσιν. νῦν οὖν ταύτη καιρός, ὁπόθ' ὁ μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐν θαλάμοις νύμφας οὐδ' ἐν γαμηλίοις κρότοις, ἀλλ' ἐν Νύμφαις τῷ χωρίῳ, πλῆθροισ τε καὶ ὄροις γεωργικοῖς, ἐξόδοις τε καὶ προόδοις καὶ προνοιῶν ἐπισκέψει καὶ οἰκονομιῶν ἀρχοντικῶν ἐπιδόσει τε καὶ παραδόσει, ὁ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεωδαισίας καθηγεμῶν. γενέσθω δὴ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ λόγος, ἐπαγγελίας δὲ μᾶλλον συμπέρασμα διὰ σοῦ, τὴν ἀρχὴν καταβαλόντος τὸν σπόρον· ἐφέψεται γὰρ δικαίως τὸ θέρος τῷ σπεύραντι.<sup>1</sup>

κα'  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐγώ, τῷ καλῷ καγαθῷ Βαραγκάτῳ χάριτας ὀφείλων μαχράς, ὅτι με πολλάκις νοσοῦντα παραλαβὼν, ἀρίστη τέχνη χρησάμενος, τοῦ τῶν ὑγιαινόντων συνέστησε κόμματος,  
5 Ἀσκληπιὸς σὺν Θεῷ δόκιμος ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ σωτήριος, νυνὶ γ' ἂν καὶ μείζους εἰδείην, ἀφορμῇ καθεστῶτί μοι γραμμάτων πρὸς λογοθέτην τὸν μέγιστον. οὗτος, ὑποζεύξας ἀνδρὶ τὸ θυγάτριον — ἦν γὰρ μόνον θῆλυ, τριῶν ἐνόντων ἀρρένων —, ὑπέστη μὲν ἔδνα τῷ κηδεστῇ, ὅς' ἂν πατὴρ ὑποσταίη φιλότεχνος, ἀπέτισε  
10 δὲ οὐδ' ἡμίση· ποῦ γὰρ ἂν εὐπόρησε τῶν ὅλων, ἀνὴρ δεδυ-

10 προνοιῶν LPdTheil || 12 ἱερεὺς LPdTheil

21. 4 τοῦ] in marg P

and have many a time spoken with the Emperor about me. The Emperor, kind as he is, had promised the gift. Now the time has come for this promise to be fulfilled, since the great treasurer is not busied with the nymphs of bridal chambers or with bridal feasts, but is busy in Nymphaion. For the supervisor of the sacred land-partitioning is constantly on the move, coming and going, measuring and setting the boundaries of farm lands, visiting pronia holdings and bestowing and granting rich landed estates. Let then the talk be about me or better, let the promise materialize with your help, since you were the one who sowed the seed first. Certainly, the harvest will justly remunerate the sower.

21. To the same

I am deeply obliged to the good and noble Barangatos, because he received me when I was ill many times and by applying his excellent art restored my health, thus proving himself with God's help to be an approved and healing Asklepios. Now I am even more grateful to him, since he gives me the reason for addressing this letter to the Grand Logothete. This man married his daughter — the only female child next to his three male children — and promised a dowry to his son-in-law as a loving father would have done, but in the end he did not deliver even half the amount. How could he afford to pay the whole, being plagued

στυχηκῶς, ἀπελαθείς μὲν πατρίδος βαρβάρων ληϊσαμένων,  
 γυμνὸς δὲ χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίας ἀλήτης;  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐφεῖτο τῶν προικῶν ὁ κηδεστής, ὁ πενθερὸς δ' ἐνδεία  
 πεπίεστο, ἀμύνεται τὸν κηδευσάμενον ὁ γαμβρός, καὶ ἡ  
 15 ἄμυνα θαυμασία, σχετλία δὲ μᾶλλον· ἀπολύσας ἔφη τὴν  
 γυναῖκα ἀπᾶραι παρὰ νῆσον τὴν Πέλοπος, γαμετὴν ἑτέραν  
 ἐκεῖ μνηστευσόμενος. καὶ οὐκ ἠπέλιψε μὲν, οὐκ ἐποίησε δέ,  
 ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ λόγος ἔργον, οὐ λόγος.

Τὸν δυστυχῆ δὲ Βαραγκάτον πῶς οἶε, περιφανέστατε,  
 20 βάλλεσθαι, ἀφορῶντα πρὸς τὸ φρύαγμα τοῦ δραπετοῦ; διώ-  
 κειν κατόπιν ἠπεύγετο, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐκ βασιλέως ὑφωρᾶτο  
 ροπήν. δεῖται τοιγαροῦν βασιλέως μὲν διὰ σοῦ, σοῦ δὲ δι'  
 ἐμοῦ. ἐμοὶ δ', ἡρημένῳ μικρόν τι συνάρασθαι τῷ πολλάκις  
 συναραμένῳ μοι πρὸς ἐπίρρωσιν, χεῖρ γένοιτο συνεργός.

κβ'  
 Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οὐδὲν Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἄρει κοινόν, παροιμία φησί· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ  
 χεῖρον, ὅποτε καὶ ὑπὸ Διονύσῳ Ἑρμῆς. αἰνιγμα δοκῶ λέγειν,  
 ἀλλὰ λύεται μοι τὸ αἰνιττόμενον. δάκνει μέ τις δήμαρχος ἐκ  
 5 τῶν γραμματέων· δεῖσαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τινων στρατευσομένων κα-

13 προίκων LPdTheil

22. 4-5 δάκνει — γραμματέων: cf. Aristoph. Nub. 37 δάκνει μέ τις δή-  
 μαρχος ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων

by misfortune, driven away from his homeland by plundering  
 barbarians, stripped of money and property, wandering now in  
 a foreign land? But the son-in-law wanted to have the dowry at  
 the same time his father-in-law was pressed by want of means,  
 and so the son-in-law paid him back and the payment was an  
 excellent one or rather, a terrible one: He told him that he is  
 leaving his wife and going to the Peloponnese to marry another  
 woman there. And he did not just threaten and do nothing, but  
 his word became deed, for it was not an empty word.

Can you can imagine, most eminent Lord, how the wretched  
 Barangatos was affected by the insolence of the fugitive? He  
 would have pursued him if he had not feared the intervention  
 of the Emperor. For this reason he petitions the Emperor for help  
 through you and you through me. Extend your helping hand to  
 me and support me in my endeavour to help the one who has  
 often helped me to regain my health.

## 22. To the Same

There is nothing in common between Hermes and Ares, says the  
 proverb. But the connection becomes still worse when Hermes  
 is placed under Dionysus. What I say seems like a riddle, but I  
 will explain what I have said. A bailiff out of my studies is biting

ταστῆναι λοχαγούς καὶ δεκάρχους, καὶ τις κατέστη τῶν ἐν  
 γειτόνων μοι, εἰ μὲν εὖ εἰδώς καὶ μάχης, εἰδέειν ἂν ἄλλοι,  
 ὅπως δ' ἂν Διονυσίων ἔχων ἐστί, καπηλείων τε καὶ κύβων καὶ  
 τηλιῶν δισκιδίων τε καὶ αἰγανέης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τῶν  
 10 ἐκδεδιητημένων εἰδώς ἔχω μᾶλλον ἐγώ, τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ  
 παροικῶν δεκάρχῳ. ὑπὸ τῷ λόχῳ τούτῳ ἑννέα λελογχότων  
 ὑπασπιστῶν, οἳ μὴδὲν ὑγιές, ὅτι μὴ τελῶναι, σιτῶναι καὶ  
 οἶνοπῶλαι, κάπηλοί τε καὶ βάνασοι καὶ σκυτεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ  
 πονηροῦ κόμματος καὶ τοιῷδε προσάδοντες λοχαγῷ, παπαί,  
 15 λαχῶν ὑποτάττομαι δέκατος, ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηνῆσι δικαστῶν  
 τῶν πινακίων τῷ πάλαι τυχῶν ἔσχατος.

Καίτοι, καὶν ῥήτωρ, καὶν φιλόσοφος, καὶν Ἑρμῆς αὐτὸς  
 οὐμὸς οὗτος ἦν λοχαγός, ἐδακνόμεν ἂν ὑποκείμενος· νυνὶ δ',  
 οὐχ' Ἑλληνας ὄντος, οὐ σοφιστοῦ, οὐχ' Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντος,  
 20 Ἀντρωνίου δ' ἀντικρυς ὄνου ἢ Βοιωτίας ὕος, ἄλλως τε μὴδ' ἐν  
 Σαλαμῖνι νενανυμαχηκός μὴτ' ὄντος Μαραθωνομάχου,  
 ὑποκείμεν ἂν ἀγελαία Κρομμυωνία σοί; οἶδ' ὅτι σοὶ μελήσει,  
 τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀναπνέοντι, Ἑρμῇ συστῆσαι τὸν ὑποφήτην· εἰ δὲ  
 μή, κατεξορχήσαιντ' ἂν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν Ἀρης τε καὶ  
 25 Διόνυσος.

9 δισκιδίων — αἰγανέης: cf. Hom. Il. 2, 774 δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ  
 αἰγανέησιν || 14 πονηροῦ κόμματος: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 862 || 20 Ἀντρωνίου  
 — ὄνου: Diogen. 1, 26 (CPG I 185); Macar. 2, 3 (CPG II 143); Apostol. 2,  
 90 (CPG II 285) Ἀντρώνιος ὄνος || Βοιωτίας ὕος: Macar. 2, 79 (CPG II 151)  
 Βοιωτία ὕς || 22 Κρομμυωνία σοί: cf. Plat. Lach. 196e οὐδὲ τὴν Κρομμυω-  
 νίαν ὤν

7 ἐγγειτόνων LPdTheil || 16 πάλῳ LPdTheil

me. When some citizens were drafted, it was required that com-  
 manders and decurions be placed over them, and one of my  
 neighbours became a decurion. Whether he is an expert in war-  
 fare, others may know. But since I live next to this good decurion  
 I know more that he is fond of Dionysus, taverns, dice, gambling  
 tables, the discus, the javelin and of all kinds of luxury. Nine  
 good-for-nothing guardsmen, tax collectors, corn and wine sell-  
 ers, tavern keepers, manual labourers, tanners, and other such  
 vulgar people, all like their commander, have been assigned to  
 his company. Alas, my lot placed me under him as the tenth per-  
 son, like that Athenian judge in antiquity who had to take the  
 last place.

And indeed, were my commander an orator, a philosopher or  
 Hermes himself, I would be sad to serve under him. But now  
 since he is not a Greek, not a sophist, not a servant of Hermes,  
 but simply a big ass or rather a pig from Boeotia who fought nei-  
 ther at Marathon nor at Salamis, should I place myself under  
 this vulgar swine? I know that you who breathes Hermes will  
 take care to unite Hermes with his interpreter. For otherwise  
 Ares and Dionysos will mock Hermes and the Muses.

κγ'

## Σκληρῷ γραμματικῷ πατριαρχικῷ

Πανάρετος ὁ καλὸς ἀγαθός, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἐκ  
 πάσης μὲν συνειλοχῶς ἀρετῆς, τοῖς τρόποις δὲ συστήσας  
 αὐτήν, ἣ μᾶλλον δι' αὐτῆς ῥυθμίσας τοὺς τρόπους, ἦν μὲν καὶ  
 5 πρὶν τῶν πάντων φίλων ἐμοὶ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἔστι δ'  
 οὐχ ἥμιστος νῦν, σὲ μὲν διὰ πάντων ἁγῶν ἐπαίνων, πετρῶν  
 δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο κάμει καὶ φιλεῖν σε μᾶλλον ἐπαίρων, πλείω συν-  
 ειδότα σοι τῶν καλῶν, ἅττα σὺ μὲν ἔργοις δίδως, συνίστησι  
 δ' αὖξιν ὁ χρόνος.

10 Ἄλλ' οἶα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οἷον δ' ἂν ἐκσταίης, ἰδὼν  
 ἐρριμμένον ἐπὶ κλίνης, φορτίον ἐλπεινόν, ὅσων οἶει δακρύων  
 ἄξιον; κατείργασται γάρ, ἐξετάζεται δὲ μᾶλλον νόσοις δρι-  
 μυτάταις ὁσῶραι. φαίης ἂν ἰδὼν εἰδῶλον ἀνθρώπου τὸν  
 15 ἄνδρα, ἣ μᾶλλον εἰκάσαις εἰδῶλου σκιᾶ. ἔστι δὲ τῶν δεινῶν  
 αὐτῷ τὸ παγχάλεπον τὸ μὴδ' ἐξεῖναι οἱ παρὰ τὸν πατριάρχην  
 ἵέναι μήτε μὴν παρὰ σέ — φαίη γ' ἂν Ὀμηρίδης —, ὃν περὶ κῆρι  
 φιλεῖ. ἤχοντά με τῆτες ἐπισκεψόμενον ἡλίκον ἤξιωσε, πάντα  
 20 κάλων κινήσειν πείσειν ὥς ἐκεῖνον παραγενέσθαι· οἰήσεται  
 γὰρ παρόντος παρεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον | Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀναρ-  
 ρώσοντα.

23. 16-17 ὃν — φιλεῖ: cf. Hom. Il. 13, 430 τὴν περὶ κῆρι φίλησε πατὴρ  
 || 17-18 πάντα κάλων: Greg. Cypr. 3, 55 (CPG I 372); Apostol. 13, 88 (CPG  
 II 600) πάντα κάλων σείειν; Karathanasis 80

7-8 συνειδότας οἱ LPdTheil || 13 ὁ σῶραι LPdTheil

## 23. To the Patriarchal secretary Skleros

The good and noble Panaretos, who received this name from the  
 sum of his virtues and affirmed it through his character – or  
 rather, his character was influenced by his name –, has been one  
 of my best friends and the closest of my companions and re-  
 mains so not the least to this day. He speaks of you with all kinds  
 of praise inspiring me to such words and encouraging me to a  
 greater friendship towards you, although I am in a better posi-  
 tion than he to know your kindness, which you show through  
 your deeds and which time increases and strengthens.

But alas, what has befallen the man. You would be appalled  
 if you would see how he lies in bed, a pitiful burden worthy of  
 tears. For he is already worn out and distressed constantly by  
 severe illness. You would say, if you would see him, that the man  
 is only a semblance of a man or you may have supposed that he  
 is a shadow of an image. The worst of all for him is that he does  
 not have any access to the Patriarch or to you, the one he loves  
 in a heartfelt way as Homer would say. When I came to visit him  
 yesterday, he strongly asked me to use all means in order to per-  
 suade you to come and visit him. He thinks that when you are  
 present Asklepios will come personally to heal him.

Πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίου, νέμω τῷ φίλῳ τὴν ἔφεσιν· γένοιτο γὰρ  
ἐκατέρῳ συμμίζαντι βέλτιον.

κδ'  
Φιαλίτη

Πρὸ τρίτης ταύτης ἡμέρας — ἡ δ' ἦν ἕκτη φθινοῦσης ἑβδο-  
μάδος —, γράμματα καὶ πόπανα πεπόμφειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἃ δὴ  
προσαγόχε Κρόνος. ἄλλ' ἔχω μαθεῖν, τὰ πόπανα μὲν ἡδέως  
5 ἐδεδοκέναι τὸν βασιλέα, μήπω δ' ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὰ γράμ-  
ματα, καὶ ταῦτ' ὃν ἀναγκαῖον. ἵν' οὖν μὴ Κρόνῳ τὰμὰ κατα-  
ποθείη γεννήματα, τῶν φιλάτων δὲ στερηθεῖν ἐγώ, δεῖ δὴ  
Φιαλίτην, τὸν ἀκρατον κρατῆρα φιλίας, πείσαι Κρόνον τῷ  
βασιλεῖ προσενηνοχέναι τὰ γράμματα, Φιαλίτην δὲ ἀναγνώ-  
10 ναι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ γινῶναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ψῆφον τοῦ βασι-  
λέως.

21 Πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίου: locus communis, cf Plat. Gorg. 500b, 519e

24. 6-7 Κρόνῳ — καταποθείη: cf. Hesiod. Theog. 459 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κα-  
τέπινε μέγας Κρόνος || 8 κρατῆρα φιλίας: cf. Theod. Duc. Lasc. ep. 65 (94,  
8 Festa) κρατὴρ φιλίας πλήρης

6 τὰ 'μα P

In the name of Zeus, the protector of friendship, fulfil the  
wish of your friend. From this meeting you would both benefit.

24. To Phialites

Three days ago, that is on the sixth day of the previous week, I  
sent letters together with a cake to be presented to the Emperor  
by Kronos. I have learned that the Emperor has eaten the cake  
with pleasure, but that he has not yet read the letters, though it  
was absolutely necessary. In order then that Kronos does not de-  
vour my fruits and be deprived of my beloved ones, Phialites,  
the pure vessel of friendship, must persuade Kronos to hand the  
letters to the Emperor. Next Phialites must read them to the Em-  
peror and through Kronos let me learn of the Emperor's decision  
regarding them.

κε'  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἡτιηκότι σοι τὸν λόγον ἤκει μετὰ θάρρους, ἥκει δ' οὖν οὐ  
κατὰ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ προτέρω· ἐπιὼν γὰρ τεχνικώτερον καὶ περι-  
5 τυχῶν τινι συρφετῷ καθ' Ἡρακλῆν ἀπέξεσα καθήρας, ἐμοὶ  
δοκεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖν, τῷ διαγνώμονι Ῥήνω τῶν τε  
γνησίων καὶ νόθων λόγων, εὖ γ' ἂν ἔχοι· πλήν, ὁπότερα δυοῖν  
ψῆφος ἐξοίσεται, μηδὲν ἀμφισβητήσας ἀπόφηναι.

κς'  
Φωκᾷ φοιτητῇ

Κονδύλους ἀπὸ καλάμων ὑπογραφέας, τῆς βασιλικῆς χειρὸς  
τοῖς κονδύλοις ἀρμόττοντας, ἐφ' ὧ τὰ προστεταγμένα δι'  
ἐρυθρῶν γραμμῶν κυροῦν, ἤτησε μὲν ὁ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν  
5 ἐπώνυμος τρεῖς – σεπτὸς γὰρ καὶ θεῖος ὁ τρία –, πέπομφα δ'  
ἐγὼ δύο συμβολικῶς· εἰ γάρ, ἅπερ ὑπογράφων ὁ βασιλεὺς,  
ἐξ ὕλης ἐστὶ καὶ εἶδους, ἀναλογεῖν ἂν οἱ δύο δυοῖν. τὸν ἕνα  
δὲ καὶ πρῶτον Θεῷ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνιδέῳ τετήρηκα, ἵν'

25. 5-6 Ῥήνω – νόθων: cf. Julian. ep. 191 (247, 12-13 Bidez) ὁ Ῥῆνος  
... ὅς τ' αὖ μὲν νόθα τῶν βρεφῶν ὑποβρύχια ταῖς δίναις πέμπει; Mich. Chon.  
ep. 115 (192, 57-58 Kolovou); Arsen. - Apostol. 13, 1b (CPG II 569) ὁ  
Ῥῆνος ἐλέγχει τὸν νόθον

25. To the same

After you have requested the discourse, it comes now to you in full confidence, since it does not come in the same form it had before. Reading it according to the rules of the art and finding some worthless stuff in it I cleared it up, I suppose in the manner of Heracles. If it befalls to you also, the Rhenos, the expert on pure and spurious works, it is all in good order. Otherwise, without circumlocution, indicate which of the two versions you prefer.

26. To the student Phokas

Writing-pens made of reed, fitting for the fingers of the imperial hands to grasp when the decrees are enacted and inscribed, have been requested by the man who is named after the Blachernae, three in number – a sacred and divine number is three –, but I sent him in a symbolic way two. If that which the Emperor undersigns is made of matter and form, then the two pens would match these two elements. But the one and most important pen I have reserved for God, the immaterial and invisible so that He would approve from on high the decrees of the Emperor in an



10 ἀνωθεν αὐλως καὶ ἀοράτως τὰ βασιλέως ἐπισφραγίζοι Θεός.  
ὁ δέ, χρηστός ὢν καὶ κυρίου χριστός, τοὺς δύο προσήσεται,  
ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὰ δύο τῆς χήρας λεπτά. τούτους κομισάμενος  
ἀφοσίωσον, ὡς ἂν τὸ σεπτὸν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὑπογραφεῖται μοι  
πρόσταγμα.

κζ'

Νικολάω φίλῳ

p. 123

5 Ἀκήκοά σε μετιέναι ποθοῦντα τὸν μονήρη βίον, ἐφ' ᾧ θεῖα  
φιλοσοφῆσαι, καί, τῆς γνώμης ἀγάμενος, τῶν συμβιούντων  
οὐκ ἄγαμαι. ἰ τὸ καλὸν γὰρ οὐ καλόν, ἢ μὴ καὶ καλῶς γέ-  
νηται. πέπυσμαι γὰρ ὡς τινες τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ αὐθαιρέτων  
ἀνδρῶν πειρῶσι τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σε διαρρηγνύναι πλη-  
ρώματος καὶ μέρος τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι κόμματος.  
10 ὅπερ πρὸς ἡλίκον κίνδυνον φέρον ἐστίν, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐκ ἐγώ, ἐρεῖ  
δέ σοι ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶτταν Ἰωάννης καὶ κοινὸς τῶν ἐκ-  
κλησιῶν καθηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος. ἅττα δέ φησιν, ἀκουσον.  
«εἰ βουλόμεθα τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κε-  
φαλῆς, ἀλλήλων ἐχώμεθα. δύο γὰρ εἰσι διαιρέσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ

immaterial and invisible way. The Emperor, however, being kind and the Lord's anointed, will accept the two pens just like the Lord who accepted the two small coins of the widow. Deliver these two to the Emperor's hands so that the sacred decree of the benefaction may be signed in my own favour.

## 27. To the friend Nikolaos

I have heard that you desire to enter the monastic life in order to devote yourself to divine contemplation and although I admire your intention I do not at all admire your company. Because what is good is no longer good, if it is not performed in a good way. I have learned that some independent and self-governed men are attempting to tear you away from the body of the Church and make you a member of their own group. In what kind of danger it will get you, I shall not be the one to say, but the golden-mouth John, the mentor common to all and teacher of the Church, will tell you. Hear then what he says: "If we wish to rejoice in the Spirit, which proceeds from the Head, let us hold together. For there are two kinds of separation from the body of

26. 11 τὰ δύο — λεπτά: cf. Marc. 12:42; Luc. 21:2

27. 11-25 εἰ βουλόμεθα — ἁμαρτίαν: Jo. Chrys. Hom. in ep. ad Ephes. 11, 4 (PG 62: 85)

ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος· μία μὲν, ὅταν ψύξωμεν τὴν ἀγά-  
 πην, δευτέρα δέ, ὅταν ἀνάξια τελεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τολμή-  
 15 σωμεν· ἑκατέρωθεν γὰρ χωρίζομεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ πληρώματος.  
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους εἰς τοῦτο οἰκοδομεῖν τετάγμεθα, οἱ πρότερον  
 σχίζοντες τί οὐκ ἂν πάθοιεν; οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεῖν  
 ὡς φιλαρχία δεδύνηται· οὐδὲν οὕτω παροξύνει Θεόν, ὡς τὸ  
 20 ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεθῆναι. καὶ μυρία καλὰ ἐργασώμεθα, τῶν τὸ  
 σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ διατεμόντων οὐκ ἐλάττονα δώσομεν δίκην,  
 οἱ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατατέμνοντες πλήρωμα· ἐκεῖνο μὲν  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ κέρδει τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐγένετο, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ δια-  
 νοίας τοιαύτης, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἔχει,  
 25 ἀλλὰ πολλὴν τὴν βλάβην. τί λέγω πολλήν; οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου  
 αἷμα ταύτην δύναται ἐξαλείφειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν».

Καὶ τσαῦτα μὲν ἡ χρυσὴ τῷ ὄντι γλῶττα. οἷα δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 μέγας τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστήρ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παῦλος, ὁ  
 κορυφαῖος ἀπόστολος, τὸ τοῦ κυρίου στόμα, ἡ τῶν θείων δογ-  
 μάτων κρηπίς, ὁ στερεὸς θεμέλιος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν; «οὐκ  
 30 εἰμί», φησιν, «ἄξιός καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος· ἐδίωκον γὰρ τὴν  
 ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν».

13-14 ὅταν — ἀγάπην: cf. Matth. 24: 12 καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν  
 ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν || 29-31 οὐκ εἰμί — αὐτήν: cf. I  
 Cor. 15:9 ; Gal. 1:13

13 ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Migne || 14 δευτέρα LPdTheil  
 || τοῦ τελεῖν Migne || 16 τὸ (pro τοῦτο) Migne || 17-18 δυνήσεται διαιρεῖν  
 ὡς φιλαρχία Migne || 19 ὡμεν ἐργασάμενοι καλὰ Migne | 21 οἱ τὸ πλή-  
 ρωμα κατατέμνοντες τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Migne || 24 πολλή ἡ βλάβη Migne  
 || 29 ἐκκλησιῶν P

the Church; the one, when we grow cold in love, the other, when  
 we dare to commit deeds unworthy to that body. Because, in both  
 cases, we separate ourselves from the body of the Church. If we,  
 however, have been assigned to edify others for this purpose,  
 what would be the consequence for those who have separated  
 themselves in the first place? Nothing else can divide so the  
 Church as the love of power. Nothing provokes the wrath of God  
 as the division of the Church. Even if we have accomplished ten  
 thousand good works, if we divide the fullness of the Church we  
 shall not be punished less than those who cut to pieces the body  
 of Christ. Because that was carried out for the benefit of the  
 whole world, even though it was not intended so. But this has no  
 usefulness at all except for the great harm it causes. Do I say  
 great? Not even the blood of a martyrdom can wash out this sin”.

Thus spoke the truly golden mouth. But what says now Paul,  
 the great luminary of the oecumene and teacher, chief among  
 the apostles, the mouthpiece of the Lord, the foundation of the  
 divine dogma, the firm, solid foundation of the Church? “I am  
 not”, he says, “worthy to be called an apostle; because I perse-  
 cuted the Church of God and tried to destroy it”.

35 Ὅραῖς ἡλίκον κακόν, τὸ σχίζειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; ὅρα τὸ  
 συνάπτειν, ὅπόσον καλόν· «ὅπου», φησὶ Χριστός, ἡ τῆς ἐκ-  
 κλησίας κεφαλὴ, «δύο ἢ τρεῖς εἰσι συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ  
 40 ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν». μὴ τοίνυν συναπαχθῆς  
 ἀνδράσιν ἀγελαίοις αὐτονομοῦσι, πλανωμένοις καὶ πλανῶσι,  
 μὴδὲ δοίης εἰς σάλον τὸν πόδα σου, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἄγγελος νυ-  
 στάξειεν ὁ φυλάττων σε· ἴσθι γὰρ ὡς, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν ὀρθά  
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρονεῖν, ὀρθοτομεῖν τε καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν ἀντι-  
 40 ποιῆσθαι γνησίως δογματῶν, εἰ μόνον ἀπεῖεν οἱ βάσκανοι.  
 Πείσθῃτι τοίνυν ἐμοὶ τῷ φίλῳ, συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος,  
 ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνον εἴης ἀθλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίμως· ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ  
 στέφανοι.

κη'  
 Τῷ κανικλείου

Μορμῷ δάκνει, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία· ἐγὼ δέ, μικρὸν ὑπαλ-  
 λάξας, φαίην ἂν ἵππος δάκνει. καίτοι, βοὶ μὲν φύσις κερατί-  
 ζειν, ἵππῳ δὲ λακτίζειν, ὥσπερ ἄρα Μορμοῖ δάκνειν. ἀλλ'  
 5 οὐμός ἵππος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθῶν, ὥσπερ ἐπιλεησμένος τοῦ

33-35 ὅπου — αὐτῶν: Matth. 18: 20 || 37 μὴδὲ — πόδα σου: Ps. 120:3 ||  
 36 πλανωμένοις — πλανῶσι: cf. II Tim. 3:13 πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι ||  
 37-38 καὶ οὐδ' — φυλάττων σε: Ps. 120: 3 μὴδὲ νυστάξει ὁ φυλάσσων σε ||  
 42-43 εἴης ἀθλῶν — στέφανοι: cf. II Tim. 4:7

28. 2 Μορμῷ δάκνει: cf. adn. ad ep. 9, 29

Do you see how great an evil it is to divide the Church? On the  
 other hand, consider how good it is to bring the faithful together.  
 Christ the head of the Church says "where two or three are gath-  
 ered in my name, there am I in the midst of them". Therefore do  
 not allow yourself to be led astray by such self-governed men  
 who live like a herd, who are misled and misleading others, "nei-  
 ther should you let your foot be moved", and the angel who keeps  
 you will not slumber. For you should know that the Church also  
 now more than ever preserves the right doctrines, expounds  
 them correctly, and applies herself legitimately to the correct  
 teachings, if only the slanderous would be kept away.

Let yourself be convinced by your friend, employ him as an  
 advisor, so that you not only enter the contest, but enter it law-  
 fully – from which also the crowns come forth.

28. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

The Mormo bites, says the proverb, but I changed it a little and  
 I say, the horse bites. And indeed, it is natural for the ox to butt  
 with its horns, for the horse to kick with its hoof, as also for the  
 Mormo to bite. But my horse – what do I know how it thinks – as  
 if he forgot his nature, transferred the energy of his feet to his

τῆς φύσεως ιδιώματος, τὴν τῶν ποδῶν ἐνέργειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 δδόντας μετήνεγκε. τῷ γὰρ μὴ εὐπορεῖν ἀκοστᾶν, πεινῆν δὲ  
 κατὰ τοῦ σφετέρου δεσπότου ἐκμέμνηε καὶ ταῦτά δρᾶν αὐτὸν  
 ἄπερ οἱ τοῦ Γλαύκου Γλαῦκον ἐπανατείνεται· οἷς, ἵππομα-  
 10 νοῦς γευσάμενοις, ἔργον Γλαῦκος γέγονε σπαραγμοῦ.

Ἄλλ' ἦν μὴ τὰ τῶν βιβλίων προσόντα μοι κατεσπάθηκεν,  
 ἦν μὴ θοιμάτια κατεδήδοκεν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν ἦν οὐ γενναῖος·  
 νυνὶ δ', ὀργῶν συνεδηδοκέναι καὶ μέ, ποῖ ποτ' ἂν τραποίμην  
 φυγῶν; καταφύγοιμι δὲ πρὸς τίνα; ποίαις δ' ἂν πυραμίσι  
 15 ἐπεντρανίσαιμι; ὅτι μὴ ὡς σὲ καὶ ταῖς σαῖς, ὅς δὴ μόνος, οἷα  
 λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, τῶν Ἑρμαϊκῶν κήδη θεραπευτῶν καὶ τούτων  
 μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν ἀδόλως καὶ ἀσκήνως φιλούντων.

κθ'

### Βαρδαλῆ

Ἦν δέ τις ἄρα ὀφείλων ὁμολογοίη μὲν ὀφείλειν, ὀκνοίη δὲ  
 τὴν ἀπότισιν, ὀκνῶν δὲ ἀναβάλλοιτό πως, οὐκ ἂν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 δεόντως κινοίη τὸν τῆς παροιμίας ἀνάγυρον; ἦν δὲ καὶ παι-  
 5 δείας μετεσχηκῶς ἢ καὶ νοῦν ἔχων ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ παιδευτῇ  
 προσοφείλων ὑπισχνοῖτο μὲν, οὐ δρώη δέ, καὶ τοῦτο βλέπων

9-10 ἄπερ οἱ τοῦ Γλαύκου — γευσάμενοις: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 33-34 | 16  
 Ἑρμαϊκῶν — θεραπευτῶν: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41 || 17 ἀσκήνως φιλούντων:  
 cf. Synes. ep. 138 (241, 13 Garzya) ἀσκήνως ἡγαπηκώτων

29. 4 κινοίη — ἀνάγυρον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 14-15

teeth. Since he does not have plenty of barley at his disposal, on account of his hunger he has directed his fury against his master whom he dares to abuse in the same way as the horses of Glaukos had assailed their master — they dismembered him after they had tasted the Arcadian plant which makes horses wild.

Had he not squandered away my collection of books and had he not completely devoured my clothes, I would not be such a coward. But now that he is eager to devour me, where could I flee for rescue? To whom should I turn for protection? To whose granary should I look? Naturally to your protection and to your granary, for you alone, as Logios Hermes, care for the servants of the god, and above all for those who love you honestly and sincerely.

### 29. To Bardales

If someone in debt confesses that he is in debt and yet hesitates to repay it, and by hesitation somehow he postpones it, would he not necessarily draw upon himself the stinking bean-tree foil of the proverb? Moreover, if he was an educated and intelligent man who was in debt to his teacher to whom he made promises but did not keep — and yet when he sees this very thing done to

ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ τῷ γιγνόμενον οὐκ ἀνάσχοιτο, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ δ' ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοκατήγορος κρίνοιτο; ἐγὼ μὲν, οἶμαι, αἰνιγμαῖ σοι λέγειν δοκῶ ἢ μὴν διεξιέναι ἐνύπνιον. ἀλλ' ὃ γέ  
 10 φημι· ἐγὼ, πρὸς ὃν θεραπεύειν εἵμαρτό σοι — καὶ εἵμαρτό γ' εὐδαιμόνως —, μεσίτῃ χρησάμενος, οὐποτ' ἂν γενοίμην ἀπ' ἐλπίδων οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἂν ἐξ ὑποσχέσεων· τυγχάνεις γὰρ ὧν ὀφειλέτης ἑκατέρῳ πράγματι, δεσποτεία δηλαδὴ καὶ παι-  
 15 δεία.

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Ὅποτέρῳ τοιγαροῦν χρήσῃ, ὅτῳ δὲ μᾶλλον χάριση δυοῖν, ἀμφοῖν ἴσθι κεχαρισμένος, ἢ τῷ τε δεσπότῃ τῷ τε παιδευτῇ· καὶ νῦν δ' ἄμφω σοι χάριν εἰσόμεθα, ὃ μὲν εὖ ποιεῖν ἤρημένος, ὃ δ' αὖ εὖ γε πάσχειν· τὸν μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ ἔστιν, εὐεργέτην εἶναι συστήσας, τὸν δ' αὖ ἐπαινέτην εὐχάριστον καὶ ἐγκω-  
 20 μιαστήν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑρμῆς ἀγάσαιτό σε, σπουδὴν θέμενον συντηρηθῆναί μοι τὰς βίβλους, αἷς ὁ βίος κεκόσμηται, μήποτ' ἂν, πρὸς ἵππου μὴδὲν ἀχοστῶντος καταποθεῖσαι, ἔρημόν μοι τὸν βίον ἑαυτῶν ἀπολίποιεν.

11-12 οὐποτ' — ἀπ' ἐλπίδων: cf. Christ. Myt. Epigr. 55 (33, 8 Ed. Kurtz)  
 οὐκ εἶμι τοίνυν οὐδαμῶς ἀπ' ἐλπίδων

20 δυσήκιστα P

someone else he cannot contain himself, but for himself he can endure it, - would he not bring judgement upon himself? I suppose that I give the impression that I am presenting a riddle or for that matter, narrating a dream. But what I want to say is this: if I would call upon the mediation of the one, whom you were appointed by fate to serve - and you were appointed in a blessed way - I would never be deprived of my hopes and you would not be released from your promises. For in both respects you happen to be in debt - that is, to the despoteia and the paideia [the ruler and the teacher].

To which one of the two you shall render yourself or to whom you shall rather grant a favour, you can be certain that your deed is offered to both the ruler and to the teacher. And you should know that we both shall be grateful to you, especially as the one is chosen to perform good deeds, and the other to receive benefit. In this manner you would encourage the one to act as a benefactor and the other as a pleasing eulogist and encomiast. Last but not least, Hermes himself would gaze at you with admiration, for you undertook the task to keep safe my books with which life is adorned lest they be devoured by my horse which has nothing to feed upon, and lest I be deprived of them for life.

λ'  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ μὲν παρῆσαν Αἰσχύλοι ἢ μὴν Εὐριπίδαι ἢ Σοφοκλεῖς  
τραγικοὶ ποιηταὶ παρ' ἐμοί, ῥᾶσ' ἂν, ἀποδοδομένων αὐτῶν,  
οὐμὸς ἠκόστησεν ἵππος· ὀλίγον γὰρ ἢ μηδὲν ἐλυμηνάμην τῷ  
5 βίῳ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἄντ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρες εἰσὶ θεολόγοι, Γρηγόριοι  
δηλαδὴ Βασίλειοί τε καὶ Χρυσόστομοι, κοσμικοὶ φωστῆρες  
ἀειλαμπεῖς, τίν' ἂν τις ἀποδόμενος τούτων δικαίως εἴη γ' ἂν  
ἀποδόμενος; μᾶλλον δέ, πῶς ἂν ἔξω δίκης ἑαυτὸν θείῃ δεινῇ;  
ὥς ἔγωγ' ἂν ἑμαυτὸν ἢ ῥημάτιον τηλικούτων ἀνδρῶν βουλη-  
10 θείην προσέσθαι.

Σὺ δ', εἰ σοι μέλει, ἐπειδὴ δέ μᾶλλον μέλει – φῆς γάρ –,  
ἔργῳ δεῖξεις ἢ λόγῳ τὴν μέλῃσιν, ἀπολύσας μὲν αἰτίας ἐμέ,  
ἀπολύσας δὲ τὸν ἵππον λιμώξεως, σεαυτὸν δὲ πραγμάτων.

λα'  
Τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων

Εἴτα, ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων ὁ καλὸς καὶ γαθός, βασιλέα μὲν οὐποτ'  
ἂν παραιτήσαιο πείθων εὐεργετεῖν – ἡγήσαιο γάρ, εἴ ποτ'  
ἂν παραιτήσαιο, καὶ βασιλέα γε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην  
5 ζημιῶν ἑαυτὸν ζημιοῦν –, 'Ραδηνὸν δ' οὐκ ἂν πείσαι, καὶ ταῦθ'

30. To the same

If I possessed the works of the tragic poets Aeschylus or Euripides or Sophocles, it would be easy to sell them for what they are worth and feed my horse. Thereby, I would have ruined my life just a little or even not at all. But since instead of them I have in my possession theologians, like Gregories, Basils and Chrysostoms, universal shiny luminaries, which one of these authors could I sell and at the same time be justified by doing so? Or to put it another way, how could he not draw upon himself a severe judgement? As for myself I would prefer to sell myself rather than a small word of such great men.

But you, in case you are concerned or rather because it concerns you – for you say so – shall show plainly your care through deeds rather than through words by clearing me from the accusation of selling the books of the holy fathers, freeing the horse from starvation and yourself from troubles.

31. To the epi ton Deeseon

After what has happened, the good and noble epi ton Deeseon, who would never refrain from persuading the Emperor to confer benefits – because had he once refrained from it, he would be unjust towards the Emperor, and would incur upon himself great harm – how he could not persuade Rhadenos, a man who has

ἡρημένον εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν  
λοιπῶν ἐμέ, τοῦτο τε αὐτὸ καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀνδρὶ χρηματί-  
σαντα; καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμμελοῦς σειρῆνος, ἐρεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον  
πειθοῦς, ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, ἢ τῆς Ῥαδηνοῦ γνώμης περὶ τὸν  
10 φίλον αὐτῷ παιδευτήν; οὕτως ἔχω συνειληφῶς ἀμφοτέρους,  
ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν τὰς ἐμὰς διαφυγῇτον ἄρκυς, καὶ εἰ μάλα βούλη-  
σθον, καὶ συλληφθέντε δὲ μᾶλλον ἡσθεύητον· τότε γὰρ ἂν τις  
ἀνιῶτο δικαίως, ὁπότ', αὐτὸς γνώμης ὣν εὖ ποιεῖν, μὴ δέοιτ'  
ἂν τις εὖ παθεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ πῶς δοκεῖτε καὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ τυχεῖν  
15 ἐφίεσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν θεραίπευσιν αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν Φίλιον,  
ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸν Ἰκέσιον, προσηκούσας εὐχαριστίας ἀποτινύν-  
τα λαμβάνοντα;

ᾧ δ' οὖν ἂν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ θάρρους εἰδείητε καὶ τοῦ  
ἀκραιφνῶς δεῖσθαι καὶ γε πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ θάττον διανα-  
20 σταίητε, ἡκόνηται μὲν ἡ κοπίς, ἡυτρέπισται δὲ ἡ ῥαφίς, ὅ τε  
κοπεὺς ἡτοιμάσται, νένησται δὲ ἀρπεδόνη, καὶ τοὺς κονδύ-  
λους ὁ ῥάψων ἐνίψατο ἢ θ' ἐορτὴ ἐν γειτόνων· ἐνὸς μέντοι δεῖ,  
τοῦ κυρίου. ὥς οὖν μὴ γένοιτ' ἀφέορτα, δεῖ δὲ θᾶσσον τὸ βη-  
λάριον ἥξειν, τοῦ λαμπροῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων Ῥαδηνὸν πε-  
25 πεικός, Ῥαδηνοῦ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πεπομφότος.

31. 11 τὰς ἐμὰς – ἄρκυς: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. funebr. in laud. Basilii Magni (§ 23, 108, 9-10 F. Boulenger) ἢ τὰς ἐκείνου τῶν λόγων ἄρκυς διαφυγεῖν

6 θυχήκιστα P || 15 τούτῳ ex τοῦτο corr P || 16 ἐκείνῳ ex ἐκείνο corr P || 21 πὺς (pro τοῦς) LPdTheil

the good intention to benefit his friends, and among them not the least myself, for the very reason that I have been his teacher? Where is then, my dear *epi ton Deeseon*, the charm of your speech or I would rather say your power of persuasion or *Rhadenos'* disposition towards his dear teacher? I have caught both of you in such a way, that you cannot escape from my nets, even if you wanted it very much – but being caught you would rather enjoy it. Because one would be displeased with good reason only then, when he is inclined to render a favour and no one needs his benefaction. You can imagine how great is my need and my desire to secure this benefaction on account of which I opt to honour *Zeus Philios* for the sake of the benefactor and *Zeus Hikesios* for the beneficiary – that is, the god, who accepts the sincere gratitude I extend to him.

In order that you may know of my courage and of my utter poverty, but above all that you may be moved do a good deed more quickly, I say to you – the scissors are sharpened, the needle is threaded, the tailor is ready, the yarn is spun and the tailor has washed his hands and the feast is in the neighbourhood. However, one is still missing – the Lord. In order that it does not come after the celebration, the woollen fabric should come as soon as possible, about which the distinguished *epi ton Deeseon* shall persuade the good *Radenos* and he shall send it.

λβ'  
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας  
 βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. οὔτε τὸ μακρηγορεῖν  
 5 ἄμεινον οὔτ' οὖν τὸ πάντῃ σιγᾶν, ἐπειδὴν μὴ δεόντως ἐκά-  
 τερον γίγνοιτο· ἔστι γάρ, οὔ σιγῆς μὲν ἄμεινον λόγος, ἔστι  
 δ', οὔ λόγου σιγή, ὁπότε δὴ δηλαδὴ καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ  
 χρῶτό τις ἀριστίνδην. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Χριστὸς ἐν ταῖς προ-  
 10 σευχαῖς μὴ βαττολογεῖν ἐνετείλατο καὶ Δαυὶδ οὐκ ἐν πολυ-  
 λογίᾳ τὸν προσευχόμενον εἰσακουσθῆναι παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ  
 μέντοι καὶ Μωσῆς, στόματι μὲν μὴ βοῶν, κινήματι δὲ καρδίας  
 15 ὁρῶν πρὸς Θεόν, «τί βοᾷς», ἤκουε, «πρὸς με;» τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ  
 λόγον καὶ σιωπῶν φθέγγομαι καὶ φθεγγόμενος  
 σιωπῶ, ἐκεῖνο πάντως, ὁπότε τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα τὸ σὸν  
 ἀγαθὸν ὁδηγήσει πνεῦμα προσδοκῶν καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐπαγ-  
 15 γελίας δοῦναι καὶ ἐλπίδος συμπλήρωσιν.

32. 5-6 ἔστι – σιγή: Eur. Or. 638 sq. ἔστι δ' οὔ σιγῆ λόγου κρίσεως  
 γένοιτ' ἂν. ἔστι δ' οὔ σιγῆς λόγος || 8 μὴ βαττολογεῖν: cf. Matth. 6: 7 προ-  
 σευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βαττολογήσητε || 8-9 οὐκ ἐν πολυλογίᾳ – παρεκελεύσατο:  
 cf. Prov. 10: 19 ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξη ἁμαρτίαν || 11 Ex. 14:15

2 ὡς δοῦλος] in marg P

### 32. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God di-  
 vine majesty, my holy Lord. Neither verbosity nor absolute si-  
 lence is good, when neither is employed in a proper way. There  
 is a time when "speech is sometimes better than silence, and si-  
 lence sometimes than speech"<sup>15</sup> – that is how one best exploits  
 the possibilities and the circumstances. For that reason, Christ  
 had also commanded in prayer not to heap up empty phrases  
 and David advised against loquacity if one wants his prayer to  
 be heard. Moses also did not speak with his mouth but stirred  
 in his heart he turned to God, and heard 'why do you cry to me?'  
 This same word I also utter in silence and I keep silently uttering,  
 expecting when the Holy Spirit shall guide your benevolent  
 spirit to specify the appointed time of your promise and the ful-  
 filment of my hope.

15. Cf. Euripides, *Orestes*, tr. A.S. Way, 179.



λγ'  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας  
 βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. τάναντία τῶν ἐναντίων  
 ἰάματα, παροιμία φησὶν. ἔστι τοίνυν ἰαμα μὲν θανάτου ζωή,  
 5 ἔστι δὲ σιτοδείας σιτοδοσία· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται.  
 κἂν ἀνέλη τις τὰ πρῶτα, φύσεως ὄντ' ἀναιρετικά, συντηρη-  
 θεῖεν τὰ δευτέρ' ἂν συστατικά. οἷς ἀριστίνδην, ἄριστε, χρώ-  
 μενος, βασιλεῦ, ἐντείναις μὲν κατὰ θανάτου παλίντονα τόξα  
 10 ζωῆς, φαρμάκτοις δὲ κατὰ σιτοδείας πεφυρακτωμένα βέλη  
 σιτοδοσίας· εἴθ', ὡς τοξότης εὖστοχος ἀφίεις, μεταβαλὼν αἴφνης  
 εὐφυῇ | μίμησαι ζωγράφον καὶ συγκεράννυθι χρώματα ποικίλων,  
 οἷς συγκαλύψαις μὲν σκιαγραφίας θανατηράς, ἀναστηλώσας  
 δὲ εἰκόνας ζωηράς, ἀμφοτέρον, Ἡρακλῆς τε τοξικός Ἀπελλῆς  
 τε γραφικός καὶ τὸ πᾶν, Σουσαρίων ἅπαντ' ἐπιστάμενος.  
 15 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ νέμοις, γαληνότατε βασιλεῦ, αὐτῷ σίτῳ καὶ  
 κριθῇ· ἔχεις γὰρ εὐεργετήσῃν ἐπαγγειλάμενος καὶ κατα-  
 νεύσας κεφαλῇ, ὅπερ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐγγύης τεκμήριον Ὅμηρος  
 μὲν Διὶ πρὸς χάριν, σοὶ δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις Θεὸς ἐπεβράβευσεν.

33. 3-4 τάναντία — ἰάματα: Galen. De constit. art. medicae (I, 261, 6; 265, 12 Kühn); Theod. Duc. Lasc. ep. 61 (90, 12 Festa) καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα λέξω; Salzmann 49 || 8 παλίντονα τόξα: Hom. Il. 8, 266 παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνων || 14 Σουσαρίων — ἐπιστάμενος: cf. Lib.ep. 21,1 (XI 595, 1-2 Foerster) Σουσαρίων ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐπιστάμενος || 16-17 κατανεύσας κεφαλῇ: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 524 κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι

## 33. To the same

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God di-  
 vine majesty, my holy Lord. Opposites heal each other, says the  
 proverb. The cure of death is life and for famine [the cure is] the  
 distribution of corn. And indeed these are opposite to each  
 other. If one would undo the first – death and famine – which are  
 disastrous to nature, the latter which constitute it would be pre-  
 served. Make good use of the latter, your excellency, by stretch-  
 ing your back-bent bow of life against death, shooting your fiery  
 arrows of gratuitous corn against famine. But after you have per-  
 formed as a skilled archer, change your disposition at once and  
 imitating an accomplished painter, mix a variety of colours with  
 which you may cover the drawings of death and be sure you  
 would restore lively presentations. Thus you may become as an  
 archer ■ new Heracles, as painter a new Apelles and in all else a  
 Susarion who knows everything.

But besides wheat may you also grant me, most serene Em-  
 peror, barley. For you have promised this benefit and you have  
 nodded assent, something that Homer acknowledged as a sign  
 of the absolute surety of Zeus for granting a favour, but in truth  
 God has granted it to you.

λδ'  
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας  
 βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. Ἐπειδὴν σπάνις ἀναγκαίων  
 κρατῇ, χώραν ἔχει τὸ αἰτεῖν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτός, καὶ  
 5 ταῦθ' ὕδωρ αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν, θαρρεῖν αἰτεῖν καὶ λαμβάνειν  
 προστέταχεν. οὐκοῦν ἤτησα μὲν ἐγώ, τὸ σὸν δ' ἐπηγγείλατο  
 κράτος· ναὶ μὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς παρῶν ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ μέσος τῆς  
 ἐπαγγελίας παραληφθεὶς τὰς ἐγγύας τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐκύ-  
 ρωσε.

10 Περαινέσθων θᾶττον οὐκοῦν· καὶ ζῶης μὲν σύ, βασιλεῦ,  
 συζῶη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ  
 τεθήλῃ.

λε'  
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Πρὸς ἱατροῦ μὲν σοφοῦ τὸ μὴ τρῶσαι, σοφωτέρου δὲ τὸ καὶ  
 γενόμενον φαρμακεῦσαι. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί τοῦτο; ἡνίασας μὲν σύ,

34. 4-5 Χριστὸς — λαβὼν: cf. Joh. 4: 9 || 5-6 αἰτεῖν — προστέταχεν: cf. Matth. 7: 7 αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν || 11-12 ἔς τ' ἂν — τεθήλῃ: Plat. Phaedr. 264d; Anth. gr. VII, 153, 2; Lib. Or. XVII, 34 (II 220, 12-13 Foster)

10 θᾶττον in marg P

34. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my holy Lord. When scarcity of goods prevails, there is a place for a request. Because Christ himself, who asked for water and received it, commanded that one should ask without fear and it will be given him. I have also asked and your administration made a promise; even more, my Emperor, by his presence and the promise he openly made, took upon himself the surety of the benefaction.

Now it must be fulfilled immediately. May you live long, my Emperor, and with you the joint Emperor "as long as water flows and tall trees blossom".

35. To the Grand Logothete

A wise doctor never injures, yet to heal the resulting wound it requires a wiser one. Why do I say this? You have offended me

5 ἡνιάθην δ' ἐγώ. τίνα δὲ τὴν ἀνίαν; φήσας ἡμεληχέναι με τοῦ  
φιλτάτου, δὶς που γεγραφὸς παριούσης ἑβδομάδος, δέον  
ὄν τρίς. τὸ δὲ καὶ γέγονε καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔστι, φάναι δὴ καθ'  
'Ομηρίδην.

10 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ βαβαὶ νοῦ σοφωτάτου· ἐνίεις τὸ κέντρον ἐμιμήσω  
τὸ τῆς μελίττης, ἀνέτου μου παραχωρήσας τοῦ μέλιτος.  
καὶ βάλλ' οὕτω, αἶ κέν τοι φῶς μοι γένηαι. ἐμὲ δ' ἴσθι καὶ  
ἄκμονα καὶ σφύραν καὶ χαλκέα μιμήσασθαι, δρωῖντά τε καὶ  
πάσχοντα καὶ μηδαμῶς ὑπενδιδόντα, εἴ πως ἄν, τῷ φιλτάτῳ  
τὴν γλῶτταν στομώσας, ἀκόνῃ χρησαίμην τῇ τέχνῃ.

λς'  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἴθ', ἥλιος μέν, ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξουσιάζων φωστήρ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ  
ἑαυτοῦ παραιτήσαιτο δρωῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσημέραι περὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον  
ὀρίζοντα κατιών, εἴτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑῷον ἐπανιών τὴν ὑφ'  
5 ἑαυτῷ φρυκτωρεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμοι, βασιλεὺς δέ, οὗ χάριν καὶ  
δι' ὃν ἥλιος δεδημιούργηται, παύσαιτό ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τρέ-  
χων ὁδόν, ἥτις ἀλήθεια | δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἔλεός ἐστιν,  
p. 128 ἀκτίνων δίκην αὐτοῦ προϊόντα τε καὶ προπορευόμενα; καὶ

35. 6 τετελεσμένον ἔστι: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 212 τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται  
|| 10 βάλλ' — γένηαι: Hom. Il. 8, 282 βάλλ' οὕτως, αἶ κέν τι φῶς Δαναοῖσι  
γένηαι || 13 τὴν γλῶτταν στομώσας: cf. Mich. Ital. ep. 4 (90, 23 Gautier)  
καὶ ῥητορικῇ στομώσας τὴν γλῶτταν

4 ἀνιάναν P || 12 πασχόντα P

and I also felt offended. What was the offence? You said that I  
have neglected your dearest son, who wrote twice instead of  
three times last week. But this has now happened and has al-  
ready been brought to pass, to express it in the words of Homer.

But bless me, what is this supposed to mean, most wise man. By  
injecting the sting you have imitated the bee providing me with  
plenty of honey. And "shoot on in this wise, if so be thou mayest prove  
a light of deliverance"<sup>16</sup> to me. As for me, you should know, that I am  
the anvil and the hammer and that I imitate the blacksmith, who  
works, suffers and in no way gives up, so that perhaps by using  
my art as a whetstone, I sharpen the tongue of your dearest son.

36. To the same

And yet the sun, the ruling star of day, never refrains from ful-  
filling its duty, but day after day sets in the West and from there  
again appears in the East, without growing weary of illuminating  
the universe with its fire. But the Emperor, for whom and for  
whose sake the sun was created, is it possible that he would  
cease to run his own course, which is truth, justice, and mercy,  
and which emanate from him like the rays of the sun and show

16. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 359.

10 μὴν ἥλιος μὲν ὑποδὺς νεφέλῃν οὕτ' ἐφωσφόρησεν ἔκλαμπρον  
οὔτε θερμότερας μετέδωκε τηλαυγήσεως, βασιλεὺς δέ, καὶ  
μυρίαῖς φροντίσι πραγμάτων ὡς βαθείαις νεφέλαις περιστοι-  
χίζοιτο, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅποτε μὴ διασχεδαννὺς πάσας ἡλιοειδέστερος  
γίγνοιτο, ὡς χρυσός, ἐπτάκις πυρὶ χωνευόμενος, δοκιμώτερος  
15 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ λαμπρότερος. καὶ δῆτα, τὸν οἰκεῖον τῆς εὐποιΐας  
δρόμον περιῦν εὐκλεέστερον ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸ ὑπήκοον. τὸν  
οὖν οὕτω μὲν προαιρέσεως ἔχοντα, οὕτω δ' εὐεργεσίας, τί τις  
ἂν ἀδικοίῃ, δεόμενος μὲν, ὑποστέλλόμενος δέ; ὡς, εἴ τις,  
ἡλιακῆς χρήζων θερμῆς, στοᾶ ψυχροτάτῃ ἐπηλυγάζεται, ἢ  
μὴν, ἀχμαίου θέρους δίψῃ φλεγόμενος, πηγὴν παραδράμοι  
20 διειδεσάτην καὶ πότιμον.

Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔχόντων ὅπως ποτ' ἔχουσιν· ἐγὼ δ', ὡς μὴ  
κινοίην ἂν τὴν βῶλον τῆς ψῆφου κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ, καὶ τῇ θερμῇ  
προστρέχω τοῦ βασιλέως — ἥλιος γάρ — καὶ τοῦ τῆς εὐεργε-  
σίας νάματος πίνω· κρήνη γάρ, ἀλλόμενα ρεῖθρα προρρέουσα.  
25 ἀλλ' ἤδη θέρους ἐφεστῶτος ὥραιου καὶ τοῦ στάχους ἄδρὸν τὸν  
σῖτον ἐκπυρηνίζοντος ἐπισιτισμοῦ δέησίς μοι πρὸς βασιλέα.  
ὁ δ' εὐθύς, οἷός τις καὶ φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ πρὸς ἅπαν ἄπορον πο-  
ριμώτατος, καὶ κατένευσε κεφαλῇ καὶ λήγων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπαγ-

13 χρυσός — χωνευόμενος: cf. Sap. 3: 6 ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ  
ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς || 21-22 ὡς μὴ κινοίην — κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ: cf. Lib. Declam.  
31, 1, 4, 2 (VI, p. 9, 11-12 Foester) ὡς τοίνυν ταύτην εἰχότως φέρω κατ'  
ἑμαυτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον || 24 κρήνη — προρρέουσα: cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3, 225 [κρήνη]  
ὑδωρ προρέεσκε || 27-28 ἄπορον ποριμώτατος: cf. Aesch. Prom. 904 ἄπορα  
πόριμος || 28 κατένευσε κεφαλῇ: cf. adn. ad ep. 33, 17-18

19 δίψῃ ex δίψει corr P

him the way? Surely, when the sun is covered by a cloud it does not shine any more his light forth and reflects much less his warmth. The Emperor, on the other hand, even if he is beset by infinite cares and affairs like heavy clouds, can still cast them aside and shine forth, his radiance brighter than the sun, just like gold which after it has been melted seven times in a furnace surpasses itself in excellence and brilliance. And what is more, by circling like the sun his familiar course of generosity he renders his subjects more honourable. How then could one injure a man who shows such a disposition towards benevolence if he is in need and yet hesitates to ask for help? It is as if one who needs the warmth of the sun withdraws himself to a cold portico, or being burned by thirst in the heat of the summer passes by a spring with crystal clear drinking water.

But such people may behave as they like. As for me, in order not to cast the pebble used in voting against me, I run to the warmth of the Emperor — for he is the sun — and I drink from the spring of his benevolence. He is indeed a spring overflowing with gushing water. But since a splendid summertime has come and the ears of corn yield abundant grain, my request to the Emperor concerns also a donation of grain. Being by his nature and office most helpful towards every kind of helplessness, the Emperor consented immediately nodding his head and ceased not from declaring himself ready for such an action. But because the

30 γελλόμενος. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν σφαῖρά τις ἔστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοκίνητος  
τε καὶ ἀεικίνητος, δεῖ δὴ τῆς φιλοσόφου σου γλώττης, οἷά  
τινος ἄξονος· καὶ θάττον ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν σφαῖραν τὸν οἰκεῖον  
δρόμον περιελιττομένην καὶ περιθέουσαν.

λζ'

## Λουκίτη πρωτοβεστιάριω Τραπεζουντίων

Ἦδὺ μὲν ἔαρ μετὰ χειμῶνα, ἡδέϊα δ' ἀπὸ ζάλης γαλήνη καὶ  
μετὰ νέφος ἥλιος ἥδιον· οὐδὲν δ' ἥδιστον οὕτως, ὥς μετὰ πρό-  
ληψιν λύπης ἐπιοῦσα χαρά· αὕτη γὰρ ὄντως ἀπασῶν ἡδυστάτη  
5 μεταβολῶν. ἡμῖν δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως, τὸ λυποῦν  
ἀμετάβολον· οὕτω γὰρ τῆς προτέρας λύπης ἀφυβρισάσης –  
προτέραν δὲ λέγω τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνεμᾷ συμβᾶσαν τῷ μακαρίτῃ,  
ἄλμυρόν θαλάσσης ὕδωρ πίνοντι –, δευτέρας νέφος ἀντέλπνευ-  
σε, κύμα κυλίνδον κυρτόν, τραχὺ καὶ φαληρίων, ἄναντές τε  
10 καὶ κάταντες ἢ δὲ πάραντες, φαίη γ' ἂν Ὅμηρος. τί δὴποτε  
τοῦτο τὸ νέφος; Παῦλος ὁ καλὸς ἐν πόλει τῇ χρυσῇ Κωνσταν-  
τίνου – Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Χριστιανῶν –,  
τῇ περιφανεστάτῃ βασιλίδι τῶν ἀπανταχῇ γῆς πόλεων  
ἡρινᾶς δ' ἀηδόνας οὐχ ἦκε κομίζων μοι τῆς ἐμμελοῦς σειρήνος  
15 ἡδυεποῦς Νέστορος, τὸν λιγὺν Τραπεζουντίων ἀγορητὴν, τοῦ  
καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέει αὐδὴ – τὸν γλυκυ-  
φραδῆ πρωτοβεστιάριον ὁ λόγος αἰνίττεται. πόσου δοκεῖς τὸ

37. 9 κύμα – φαληρίων: cf. Hom. Il. 13, 798 sq. κύματα ... κυρτὰ φα-  
ληρίωντα || 9-10 ἄναντές τε – πάραντες: cf. Hom. Il. 23, 116 πολλὰ δ'  
ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε || 16 γλώσσης – αὐδὴ: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 23

Emperor is like a sphere, one which moves constantly and by it-  
self alone as the universe, he is in need of your philosophical  
tongue to function like an axis; and surely then one would see how  
quickly the sphere would revolve and turn round in her course.

## 37. To the Protovestiaris of the Trapezuntines Loukites

Delightful is the spring after the winter, delightful is the stillness  
of the wind after the storm and even more delightful is the sun  
after a cloudy sky. But nothing is as delightful as the sudden joy  
which dispels grief. This change is actually the most delightful.  
But for me I do not know how and for what reason, the grief re-  
mains unchanged. For a past misfortune has not yet ceased to  
rage – past I call the one which occurred to the late Anemas who  
drank the salty water of the sea – and against me a second cloud  
of sorrow burst, billowing and white with foamy waves, rolling  
ever upward, downward and also sideward as Homer would say.  
What kind of gloom do I mean? The good Paul came to the  
golden city of Constantine – Constantine, the first Christian Em-  
peror – to the magnificent Queen of all the cities of the earth;  
but he brought me not a nightingale of spring from the melodi-  
ous voice of the sweet of speech Nestor, the clear-voiced orator  
of the Trapezuntines, from whose tongue flows speech sweeter  
than honey – I imply, of course, the sweet speaking Protovestiar-  
ios. Can you imagine what turmoil this gloom brought against

νέφος τοῦτο πνεῦσαν ἐστρόβησεν, ὅπως καταϊγίδας ἐνέ-  
 πνευσε τῇ ψυχῇ; μικροῦ καὶ ἄνεως ἔστην τό τε τοῦ νοῦ σκάφος  
 20 ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἤλθεν ἀνατετράφθαι καὶ βαπτίσαι κύμβαχον, εἰ  
 μή με θυμὸς ἀνέηκεν ἕτερος καὶ τὸ σκάφος ἐπὶ κάραν οὐριον  
 ἔπλευσεν.

Ἄλλ' ἀντιπνεύσειε Τραπεζοῦντιθεν ἀρχτῶα πνεύματα —  
 οἷσθα τίνα ταῦτα — καὶ τάχ' ἂν οὐριοδρομήσαντες προσορμί-  
 25 σαιμεν, ἵν' ἔχοιμι συχνῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ὥρων ὑπομνήματα τοῖς θ'  
 ὁρῶσι τεκμήρια, οἷός τις σὺ περὶ τὸν φίλον ἐμὲ παιδευτήν, ὃν ἄλλον  
 <αὐτὸν> ἡγῇ σέ· οὕτω γάρ τὸν φίλον φιλοσοφῶν Πυθαγόρας  
 ὠρίσατο. κοσμικὸν μέλαν ἄμφιον πέμψον, δορὰν ἡμφιεσμέ-  
 30 νον, μὴ μέντοι κατ' ἐκείνην δὴ τὴν λεόντειον καὶ Ἡράκλειον,  
 ἄλωπέκειον δέ· συνέστω δὲ τῷ ἄμφιῳ καὶ ὑπένδυμα, νημά-  
 των ἐκ σηρικῶν ὑφασμένον, καὶ αὐτὸ μέλαν. φορτικὸν μέν,  
 οἶδα, τὸ ζήτημα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ φιλίας εἰλικρινοῦς· εὐπορεῖ δέ σοι  
 καὶ γνώμη καὶ χεῖρ, χορηγοῦντος οὕτω τοῦ κρείττονος.  
 35 Θρηῖκιοι δ' ἄνεμοι, χειμῶνος δριμύτατοι, βορείαις νιφάσι  
 πυκναῖς τῆς γῆς παχνοῦσαι τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τροχαλὸν

21 θυμὸς — ἀνέηκεν: cf. Hom. Il. 7, 25 μέγας δέ σε θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν || 26-  
 27 ὃν ἄλλον ἡγῇ σε: cf. Arist. Ethic. Nic. IX 4, 1166a31 ἔστι γὰρ ὁ φίλος  
 ἄλλος αὐτός; Nic. Choumn. ep. 95 (132, 21–22 Boissonade); Strömberg  
 76 || 35–36 τροχαλὸν — γέροντα: cf. Hesiod. Op. 518 τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα  
 τίθησιν

26 ὥρῳσι LPdTheil || 27 φίλον] in marg P

me, how many storms it blew through my soul? I stood there al-  
 most speechless and the ship of my soul would have capsized  
 from the stern, drawing me headlong to the bottom of the sea,  
 if another power of the soul had not uplifted me and my ship  
 had not sailed with a favourable wind straight on.

But if north winds would blow towards us — from Trebizond —  
 — you know what I mean — perhaps with a favourable sail I could  
 bring my ship to anchor so that I might obtain memories of  
 many days and hours and proofs of the friends I see; how true  
 you prove yourself towards your dear teacher, whom you con-  
 sider a second self. For thus did Pythagoras define “friend” in  
 his philosophy. Send me then a worldly black cowl lined with fur,  
 certainly not with a lion skin like that of Heracles, but lined with  
 a fox fur. Along with the garment send me also an undergarment  
 woven with silk threads, this one also of black colour. I know that  
 this is a burdensome request, but it comes from a sincere friend-  
 ship. Beside, you prosper both materially and in disposition, the  
 Superior providing you so. The Thracian winds blow in violently  
 winter, and with their thick-falling northern flurries they freeze  
 the surface of the earth and make the old man run quickly, to put

τιθεῖσαι τὸν γέροντα, φάναι δὴ καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἐμὲ δὲ γῆρας  
 ἱκάνει ὁμοῖον καὶ δεῖ δὴ χειμερίων ἀλεωρῶν.

Ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου μεγιστᾶνος ἐγκώμιον, δι' ἐπῶν ἡρώων  
 40 ἐξενεχθέν μοι δις ἑκατὸν πρὸς πεντήκοντα, τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου  
 πέπομφα· ἔδει δὲ δήπου ραψωδῆσειν, ἡργμένον μὴ, καθ'  
 Ὅμηρον, ἀπὸ μυῶν καὶ βατράχων τὴν προθεωρίαν τῆς γυ-  
 μνασίας ποιήσασθαι, εἴτ' ἐπὶ πολέμους ἡρωϊκοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς  
 45 τε καὶ Τρωϊκοὺς ἀνιόντα συστῆσαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἀλλὰ φιλο-  
 σόφων ἀνδρῶν, ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος, ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρό-  
 σωπον θέμεν τηλαυγές, ὥς ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν βροτείων ἀναπταίη-  
 50 μεν ἐπὶ τὰ θεϊότερα. Ἰ ἐπιὼν τὸ σύγγραμμα γένοιό μοι τοῦ  
 Κελτικοῦ Ῥήνου δικαστῆς ἀρρεπέστερος, μὴ δεκάσας εὐνοία  
 τὰς ψήφους· καὶ τῶν δοκούντων τὰ ἔπη, τῶν ἴσων τεύξῃ καὶ  
 σύ, ἐμοῦ τὸ ἐγκώμιον ἐξυφάναντος. ἔρρωμένος, Θεῷ φίλος  
 50 διαβιώῃ μοι ὁ χρυσοῦς καὶ τρισόλβιος πρωτοβεστιάριος.

36-37 γῆρας — ὁμοῖον: cf. Hom. Od. 11, 196 χαλεπὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας  
 ἱκάνει; Il. 4, 315 ἀλλὰ σε γῆρας τείρει ὁμοῖον || 44-45 ἀρχομένου — τηλαυ-  
 γές: Pind. Olymp. 6, 3-4 ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν  
 τηλαυγές || 47 Κελτικοῦ — ἀρρεπέστερος: cf. adn. ad ep. 25, 5-6 || 47-48  
 δεκάσας — ψήφους: cf. Synes. ep. 1 (4, 14 Garzya) αἱ γὰρ εὖ νοῖαι δεινὰ  
 δεκάσαι τὰς ψήφους

37 γράφεται τείρει] in marg P || 38 φιλοσόφου μεγιστᾶνος ex μεγι-  
 στᾶνος φιλοσόφου corr P || 49 τὸν P

it like Hesiod. Distressing old age presses hard upon me and makes protection from the cold of winter necessary.

I have sent to your nobility an encomiastic epic poem for a distinguished philosopher, composed by me in two hundred fifty heroic verses. I had to recite my verses, I suppose, beginning by way of a preliminary exercise, not with mice and frogs, like Homer, and then advancing to heroic wars between Greeks and Trojans in order to attain poetic perfection, but I started with philosophizing men. For just as Pindar says, we must place a far-shining front over our work's beginning, so that we may rise from the mortal to the more divine. Read my composition and become for me a judge, but more unwavering than the Celtic Rhenos, who does allow his decision to be influenced by his good will. And if you approve of the poems, you will receive a similar composition and I shall be the one to weave your praise. Healthy and protected by God, long may the golden and thrice fortunate friend, the Protovestiarios, live.

λη'  
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Καὶ λεόντων ἄρα σκύμνοι γήρᾳ καμόντας τοὺς πατέρας καὶ  
θηρᾶν ναρκῶντας, ὥστε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πορίζεσθαι θοίνην, οἶδε  
περὶ θήραν ἐξιόντες ἐξάγουσιν· εἴτα, σκοπήσαντες ἐπίτηδες  
5 τόπον, ἐγκαθέτους ἐφίζουσιν, αὐτοὶ δέ, περὶ τὸ τῆς ὕλης δά-  
σος χωροῦντες, ὅπας καὶ λόχμας ῥινηλατοῦντες, σπηλαιὰ τε  
καὶ κρησφύγετα, ἐπειδὴν ἐντύχουσιν ἀνιχνεύοντες ἀγέλαις  
ἐλάφων ἢ συῶν κάπρων ἢ ζῶων ἐτέρων — πολλ' ἄττα γὰρ ταῖς  
ὕλαις ἐντρέφεται —, στιχηδὸν κατὰ κόσμον διώκοντες ὀπισθεν  
10 ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἐγκαθέτων ἐλαύνουσιν· οἱ δ' ἐξάπινα θορόντες ἐπ'  
ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῦμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱάλλον. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐμπλη-  
σθῶσι, τὰ τοῦ κόρου λείψανα μέλπηθρα τοῖς σκύμοις ἐῷσι.

Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν σκύμνοι τροφεῖα γεγηρακόσι τοῖς πα-  
τράσιν ἐκτίνουσι. δρῶσι δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον ταῦτά καὶ πελαργῶν  
15 νεοττοί, ὥς φησιν ὁ περὶ ζῶων ἰδιωμάτων Αἰλιανὸς συγγρα-  
φάμενος, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν τῇ παροιμίᾳ θρυλλουμένην ἀντι-  
πελάργωσιν. ἄνθρωποι δέ, καὶ ταῦτα λόγῳ τετιμημένοι καὶ  
τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων δεσπόζειν ἡξιωμένοι, πολλοῦ δέουσι τοιαῦ-  
τα δρᾶν περὶ γε τοὺς πατέρας καὶ παιδευτάς. ἀλλ' ὁ Μα-

## 38. To the Grand Logothete

Also young lions take out their parents for hunting, when they are already overtaken by old age and grown numb so that they may be provided with food. Then they seek out for them a proper place and let them sit there while they themselves proceed farther into the forest thicket, sniffing out the bushes, caves and hiding places. In their search when they chance upon a herd of deer or of wild swine, boar or other animals — for many such animals live in the woodland — they pursue them in rank and file driving them towards where their parents are posted waiting. And their parents leap suddenly stretching forth their hands to the good cheer lying ready before them. And when they have had enough, they leave the remaining of their satiety to their young as a plaything.

Such payment for rearing and bringing them up do the young lions provide their aged parents. And young storks act in the same manner, says Aelian, who has written on the properties of animals and this is the significance of antipelargosis, which became famous by the proverb. But human beings, although they have been honoured by the gift of reason and deemed worthy to rule over the irrational animals, lag far behind in performing similar deeds for their parents and teachers. Yet that prudent

38. 2 sq., cf. Ael. Nat. anim. IX, 1 (217, 18 sq., Hercher) || 10-11 ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' — ἱάλλον: Hom. Il. 9, 91 || 12 μέλπηθρα — σκύμοις: cf. Hom. Il. 13, 233 κυνῶν μέλπηθρα || 15 ὁ περὶ — Αἰλιανός: Ael. Nat. anim. III, 23 (69, 15 sq., Hercher) || 16-17 ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7



- 20 κεδὼν ἐκεῖνος καὶ σώφρων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεὺς  
 τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής, τὸν παιδευτὴν μᾶλλον ἔφη  
 φιλεῖν, εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι πεπαιδευκότα, ἢ τὸν πατέρα, πρὸς τὸ  
 ἀπλῶς εἶναι παραγαγόντα· ναὶ μέντοι, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἤγε  
 τιμῆς.
- 25 Καὶ μὴν, ἀνδρὶ τις ἐντυχὼν ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ μικρὸν ἀργύριον  
 ἡτηκώς, ἔλαβεν ἢ μὴν οὐκ ἀκήκοεν οὐχὶ λήψεσθαι· φοιτητῇ  
 δὲ προσιῶν παιδευτῆς βράχιστον ἄρτον αἰτῶν, ὃ δ' εὐθύς  
 συνῆξε τὰς ὀφρῦς κατέσπασέ τε τὸ ἐπισκύνιον καί, προσιδὼν  
 ὀμματα βλοσυροῦ, σκυθρωπὸς ἕστηκεν ἑξαρνός τε μὴ προσεῖ-  
 30 ναὶ οἱ μὴδὲ γρῦ, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. καὶ δακτύλιος μὲν Κό-  
 λωφωνίου χρυσοῦ δοκιμώτερος κοσμεῖ τῶν δακτύλων τὸν  
 μύωπα, ὃ δέ, περιστρέφων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ Γύγου πλεονφυσῶν  
 ἐλεγχόμενος, οὐκ αἰσχύνεται καί, βοῦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης φέρων,  
 τὴν δόσιν ἀναινέται. ἐρυθρίασας τοίνυν ὁ παιδευτὴς ἐπανήκει  
 35 κενός, ὥσπερ δεδειπνηκώς ἐς Ἴκκοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τὸ τοῦ βασι-

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20 Hom. Il. 3, 179 || 21-23 τὸν παιδευτὴν – παραγαγόντα: cf. Plut. Alex. 8, 4 || 30 μὴδὲ γρῦ – παροιμίας: Aristoph. Plut. 17; Zenob. 5, 54 (CPG I 142-143); Apostol. 5, 64; 17, 3 (CPG II 352, 687); Karathanasis 41 || 30-31 Κολοφωνίου χρυσοῦ: Macar. 5, 27 (CPG II 181) Κολοφώνιος χρυσός; Salzmann 39 || 32 περιστρέφων – Γύγου: cf. Diogen. 2, 20 (CPG II 20); Apostol. 5, 71 (CPG II 353) Γύγου δακτύλιος; Karathanasis 36-37 || 33 βοῦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης: Diogen. 2, 2 (CPG II 18); Apostol. 5, 7 (GPG II 332); Karathanasis 106-107 || 35 δεδειπνηκώς ἐς Ἴκκοῦ: cf. Eust. Comm. Il. II, 206, 10 (van der Valk); Comm. Dion. Per. 376, 11; Hotop 303

31 τὸν (pro τῶν) P || 33 ἀναισχύνεται LPdTheil

Macedonian Alexander, “both a noble king and a valiant spearman”,<sup>17</sup> said that he loved his teacher who had taught him to live the good life more than his father, who had merely brought him to life. And indeed, he bestowed upon him every honour.

And surely if someone by chance comes upon a stranger and asks him for a little money, he would receive it or at least not hear that he will not have it. But if a teacher approaches one of his students and asks him for a small piece of bread, the student immediately frowns upon him, furrowing his brows and casting at him a fearful look, he stands up gloomily and tells him that he does not have even a bite, as the proverb says. And yet he wears on his small finger a ring made of gold – the gold is in fact purer than that of Kolophon – and he is not at all ashamed when he is told to his face that he is more vain than Gyges as he twists his ring around his finger, and while he carries the ox of silence on his tongue, he refuses the donation. The teacher returns ashamed and empty-handed, as if he had dined at Ikkos, and pro-

17. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 131.

λέως πρυτανεῖον χωρεῖ τραφησόμενος. καὶ νῦν οὐθ' ὁ μισθός  
ἐστιν οὐθ' ἡ τέχνη, καὶ θεράπων Ἑρμῆς ἀλογίας, κρέκων,  
ψαλάττων εἰς κενὸν νευρᾶς κτύπον, ἄσιτα ἀδῶρητα φορμί-  
ζων μέλη.

- 40 Ἄλλ' ἦν τῶν βασιλέως νοταρίων ἕκαστος ἀργύριον ἐν κατὰ  
μῆνα βραβεύη μοι τῷ παιδεύσαντι, ὑφαιρέσει μικρὰ καὶ  
προσθέσει γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἰσότης ἐξ ἀνισότητος, αἱ θ' ὑπερβολαὶ  
καὶ ἑλλείψεις ὡς κακίας ὑποθέσεις μακρὰν ἀποιχέσονται.

λθ'

Τῷ αὐτῷ

- Ἐπειδὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἦ τὸ πιέζον, οὐτ' ἐγγωνιάζειν οὐτ' ἐρυ-  
θρίαν ἐστι χρήσιμον, τοῦναντίον δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνάγκην παρ-  
ρησιάζεσθαι· κατέχει σπάνις με σίτου, ἥς λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος  
5 τέκνα, ἀδελφῶ διδυμάονε. προσίων ἡτησάμην τοῖς φοιτηταῖς,  
ἀλλ' ἐσχασάμην τὰς κώπας ἐπὶ ξηραῖς καὶ, ζητῶν ἄρτον, σπι-  
λάσιν ἐνέκυρσα. πλοῦν ἄλλον τῷ σῷ προσορμίζω λιμένι καὶ

38 εἰς κενὸν — κτύπον: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 49-50

40-41 ἀργύριον — μῆνα] in marg P

39. 4-5 λιμὸς — διδυμάονε: cf. Hom. Il. 16, 672 Ἴππῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ  
διδυμάοσιν || 6 ἐσχασάμην τὰς κώπας: cf. Scholia in Aristoph. Nub. 107d  
(223 Koster) λέγομεν γὰρ ἐσχασαν τὰς κώπας, ὡς καὶ ... κώπην ... σχάσαι  
|| 7 πλοῦν ἄλλον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 5-16

ceeds to the *prytaneion* of the Emperor to eat there. So not only  
is the salary now lost, but also the art, and Hermes becomes a  
servant of dumbness playing his lute and striking the chords in  
vain and making melodies that bring no food or fee.

But if each one of the Emperor's secretaries would pay me,  
their teacher, one piece of silver monthly, then by a small sub-  
traction and addition from the inequality an equality would be  
achieved and moreover excess and shortage would disappear as  
causes of evil from the world.

### 39. To the same

When the need is pressing it is of no use to withdraw to a corner  
or to be ashamed, but on the contrary one must speak openly  
about his needs. Lack of bread has taken hold of me, the twin  
children of which are hunger and death. I approached my stu-  
dents and appealed to them, but instead I only plied my oars on  
land and, seeking bread, I came upon stones. After a second jour-  
ney, I bring my ship to anchor in your harbour and lie in the

ταῖς εὐναῖς τῶν ἐλπίδων εὐνάζομαι· ἔστι γάρ σοι καὶ φύσις  
καὶ τέχνη ἐκ καταιγίδων καὶ ναυαγίων προσορμίζειν ὁλκά-  
10 δας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ λιμένος ἂν ἐξοκείλαιμι – ἀλλὰ μὴ,  
σῶτερ, μὴ, ἔλευθέρει – οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἐξ οὐρίων ὁ πλοῦς, ἀλλ'  
ἀντίπριρος καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἢ θραῦσις τοῦ σκάφους καὶ  
ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡρτημένος ὁ κίνδυνος. ὃ μὴ σύ γε, ὄρμε γαλή-  
νιε.

μ'

## Λουκίτη πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ

Δαίδαλον μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὸν πολυμήχανον δραπετεύοντα Μίνω  
τὸν Κρήτης τύραννον – ἠδίκησε γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἰς Πασιφάνη τὴν  
Ἥλιου παῖδα –, μῦθοι πλάττουσι λῆροι δαιμονίως σὺν Ἴκα-  
5 ρίῳ τῷ παιδί πτερωθέντα καὶ διαπτάντα τὸ Φάριον πέλαγος  
καταπαῦσαι πρὸς ἡπειρον. ἐμοὶ δέ, τίς δώσει ταῖς ἀληθείαις  
πτέρυγας ὥσεί περιστερᾶς; καὶ πετασθεὶς καταπαύσω πρὸς  
Τραπεζοῦντα τὴν καλήν· καλῶ γὰρ αὐτὴν καλήν, τοῦμόν σε  
μέλημα, Σαπφῶ φησι, τρέφουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο τῶν

10-11 μὴ, σῶτερ – ἔλευθέρει: cf. Synes. ep. 132 (229, 10 Garzya) μὴ,  
ὦ σῶτερ, μὴ, ὦ ἔλευθέρει || 11 ἐξ οὐρίων ὁ πλοῦς: cf. Salzmann 55

11 ἐξουρίων P

40. 2 sq., cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 3 || 6-7 τίς δώσει – καταπαύσω: Ps. 54,  
7 || 8-9 τοῦμόν – μέλημα: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 11

berth of hopes. It is in your innate capacity and in your office  
also that you can bring ships to your haven after a storm and  
shipwreck. But should I suffer a shipwreck in your port – may  
Zeus the Saviour and Deliverer forbid it – then there will be no  
more a journey with fair wind, but the hull of my ship will break  
at once in prow and stern and the danger will hang over my  
head. Do not allow this to happen, you the tranquil haven.

## 40. To the Protovestiaris Loukites

The foolish myth fabricates the story that the inventive  
Daedalus in his attempt to escape from the Cretan Minos – as he  
had offended him on account of [his wife] Pasiphae, the daugh-  
ter of Helios – flew with his son Ikaros in an incredible way over  
the Pharian sea, landing on the continent. But in truth, who will  
give me wings like those of a dove to fly and land in beautiful  
Trebizond? I call her beautiful, for she nourishes you, my  
beloved one, as Sappho says. But since this is not attainable, I

p. 132 10 ἐφικτῶν, ἵ ὡς χελιδόσιν ἑαριναῖς χρῶμαι τοῖς γράμμασιν,  
 ἔπεσιν οὖσι πτερόεσσι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, ὅπως ἂν δι' αὐτῶν  
 αἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀηδόνες λιγυρὸν ἁσματίσωσι καὶ τερ-  
 ψιθύμου μελωδίας ἐμφορηθῶ, καθάπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν τῶν  
 Σειρήνων παραμείβων ἀκτὴν.

15 Ἄλλ' ὦ πονηροῦ δαιμονίου. ὅτ' ἔαρ ἠλπίζομεν, χειμῶνι  
 ἐντετυχήκαμεν καὶ δεινῷ ναυαγίῳ περιπεπτώκαμεν· καὶ ὁ  
 πόθος καὶ χρόνος μακρὸς ὤδινε, τοῦθ' ὥρας ῥιπὴ θαλάσσης  
 ἔργον εἰργάσατο. Ἀνεμᾶς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὅσον οὕτω προσδο-  
 κώμενος ἐπανήξειν, ὁ μὲν ἀπόλωλεν, ἐπεὶ πῖεν ἄλμυρον Προ-  
 20 ποντίδος ὕδωρ, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐξ ἀέρα τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπηρευξάμεθα.  
 καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος πενθεῖται, ἡμεῖς δ' ἀπολοφυρόμεθα. ἦσαν ἄρα  
 δαιμόνια πνεύματ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀντίπρωρα κύματα,  
 ἄττα τριήρη φορτηγόν, ὑπερπλήρη καὶ παμμεγέθη ὄλβον  
 ἄπειρον φέρουσαν, αὐτανδρον κατέαξαν καὶ κατέκλυσαν καὶ  
 25 ἀπωλείας βυθῷ κατεβάπτισαν.

Ἄλλ' ἀντιπνεύσοι Θεὸς πραεῖαν αὔραν καὶ εὐκραῖαν καὶ  
 πλοῦν οὐριοδρομήσαιμεν δεύτερον, ὄρμῃ γαληνῇ κατάραν-  
 τες.

11 ἔπεσι οὖσι πτερόεσσι: cf. Hom. Od. 1, 122 ἔπεα πτερόεντα || 19-20  
 ὁ μὲν ἀπόλωλεν — ὕδωρ: cf. Hom. Od. 4, 511 || 27 πλοῦν — δεύτερον: cf.  
 adn. ad ep. 4, 15-16

have recourse to your letters as if they were the swallows of spring – words being winged in poetical language. As such, the nightingale of your letters may sing sweetly and I will enjoy their delightful melody, like Ulysses when he sailed by the coast of the Sirens.

But what a misfortune is evil fate. When I had hoped for spring, I met with winter and suffered a terrible shipwreck. And that for which an ardent desire had long been labouring was swept away by the sea in an instant. Because that man Anemas, who was at any moment expected to return back, perished “when he had drunk the salt water”<sup>18</sup> of Propontis, and with it my hopes were blown in the air. And now he is mourned, and I bewail the loss. Those winds were indeed evil and cruel and the waves that rushed against the prow shattered the three-decked freighter, which was laden to the full with an immense, precious cargo, together with the crew, and flooded it and sank it to the bottom of destruction.

But may God send us a mild and gentle breeze so that we may venture ■ second voyage with a fair wind, landing in a calm haven.

18. Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 155.

## Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οἱ φιλεῦντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσι, Θεοκρίτειόν ἐστι γνω-  
 μάτευμα. ἐμὲ γοῦν φιλοῦντα πόσον οἶε γεγηρακέναι, τοσοῦ-  
 του χρόνου μήτ' αὐτοπροσώπως μήτ' οὖν διὰ γραμμμάτων  
 5 ὠμιληκότα σοι, ὅτῳ καὶ συζῆν ἤρημαι καὶ συμπνεῖν; θάτερον  
 γὰρ θατέρῳ συνέζευκται, κατὰ τοὺς Ὀμηρικοὺς Ἀκτορίωνας.  
 ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ Τιθωνοῦ, ὃν Ἡώς, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ σύνευνον ὄντα,  
 διὰ βαθὺ καὶ λιπαρὸν γῆρας ἀπέστερξε, γεραίτατος γέγονας  
 καὶ μακρόγηρω κορώνης πεπαίτερος;  
 10 Ἄλλ' ἦν ἀνηβηκέναι με βούλη καὶ οἷον ἀνεζηκέναι, κατὰ  
 τὸν ἀνεψιθέντα Πέλοπα ἢ μὴν Ὀδυσσεά τὸν πολυμήχανον,  
 ἐς Ἀιδωνέως κατιόντα τῇ τε ψυχῇ τοῦ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίου  
 χρησάμενον, εἴτ' ἀνιόντα καὶ νεκροῖς τοῖς ἄνω χρηστηριά-  
 ζοντα, καὶ γράμμασιν, ὥς τοῖς δι' ἐσόπτρων ἰνδάλασιν, φάν-

41. 2 Οἱ φιλεῦντες – γηράσκουσι: Theocr. Idyl 12, 2 οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες  
 ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσιν; Hotop 303; Strömberg 83 || 6 κατὰ – Ἀκτορίωνας:  
 cf. Hom. Il. 2, 621; Greg. Naz. ep. 156 (Il 47, 2 Gallay) δίδυμοι γὰρ ἦσαν  
 καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὃ μὲν τὰς ἡνίας, ὃ δὲ τὴν μάστιγα μεριζό-  
 μενοι καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλήλοις συνανίζοντες || 7-8 Τιθωνοῦ – γῆρας: cf.  
 Zenob. 6, 18 (CPG I 166; Apostol. 16, 57 (CPG II 676); Karathanasis 27 ||  
 9 κορώνης πεπαίτερος: cf. Jul. Poll. Onom. 2, 16 (85 Bethe) ὑπὲρ τὰς κο-  
 ρώνας [βεβιωκώς]; Const. Manass. Brev. chronicum 6237 ἤριξε κορώναις  
 μακρογῆρως || 12 τῇ τε ψυχῇ – Τειρεσίου: cf. Hom. Od. 11, 90 ἤλθε δ' ἐπὶ  
 ψυχῇ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο

1 sine numero P || 10 ἦ (pro ἦν) LPdTheil || 12 Ἀιδονέως LPdTheil

## 41. To the same

Those who love grow old in a day – this is a Theocritan maxim.  
 But I, who happen to be in love, how much do you think I have  
 aged, since I have not spoken to you in person or in writing for  
 a long time, and this although I have chosen to live with you and  
 breathe with you? The one is connected with the other, like the  
 grandsons of the Homeric Aktor. I have grown older than  
 Tithonos, don't you think, to whom Eos denied her love because  
 of his sleek old age, although he was her husband and even older  
 than the long lived crow?

But if you wish that I would become young again and return  
 back to life so to speak, like the boiled and revived Pelops or the  
 resourceful Ulysses, who descended to the realm of Aidoneus  
 and encountered the spirit of the Theban Teiresias, and then  
 again ascended to the world above and with the help of the dead  
 he consulted the oracles for the living, let your sacred counte-  
 nance appear before my eyes, even if only through letters, just

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15 ταζέ μοι τὴν ἱεράν σου μορφήν. ἐπιὼν γὰρ ταῦτα συχνότερον  
ταῦτόν ἂν δρώην ζωγράφῳ, ὅς, πολλάκις ἰ τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς  
ἀρχετύπους πίνακας ἀνελίττων καὶ τῶν ἐκτυπωμάτων τοὺς  
γνώμονας ἀκριβῶς ἀναματτόμενος, ἐμφερεῖς τὰς εἰκόνας ταῖς  
πρωτοτύποις ἀναστηλοῖ καὶ τὸ ἐφιέμενον — πῶς δοκεῖς; —  
20 ἀφοσιῶ τῇ ψυχῇ· ἐν γὰρ ἀπουσίᾳ σωμάτων συνουσίας φαν-  
τάσματα γράμματα.

Ἴδοιμί σε βεβραβευκότος Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμυασιν αἰσθητοῖς·  
τοῖς γάρ τοι νοεροῖς ἔσαι καὶ σύνειμι καὶ ὁρῶ καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν  
κατατρυφῶ τῆς ἡδίστης μοι συνουσίας τοῦ καλλίστου πρω-  
25 τοβεστιαρίου.

&lt;μβ&gt;

Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ

μα'

Λόγος ἐπηγγελμένος ἦν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκβαίη, βέβαιος  
ἂν εἴη λόγος καὶ δεόντως ἂν λέγοιτο λόγος· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐνύπνιον,  
μᾶλλον δὲ σκιᾶς ὄναρ. αἶνιγμα λέγειν ἔοικα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σοφὸν  
5 καὶ κρίνειν εἰδότα στροφᾶς καὶ πλοκάς αἰνιγμάτων.

20-21 ἐν γὰρ ἀπουσίᾳ — γράμματα: cf. Synes. ep. 138 (241, 1-3 Garzya)  
δύνασθαι τὴν ἐπιστολήν... εἶναι παραμυθίαν, παρεχομένην ἐν ἀπουσίᾳ σω-  
μάτων φαντασίαν τῆς παρουσίας

42. 4 σκιᾶς ὄναρ: cf. Pind. Pyth. 8, 95

1 μα'] sic P

as images in a mirror. I would read them quite often and I would  
act like a painter who many times during the day unrolls the  
original of his paintings in order to obtain impressions of the  
exact features of the original image, and sketches them so as to  
resemble closely the original. And the ideal form — what do you  
think? — he impresses upon his soul. For when bodies are apart,  
letters are the images of union.

May I see you God willing with my own eyes. For with my  
spirit I see you and am constantly with you and as it seems fully  
enjoy the most pleasant company of my most excellent Pro-  
tvestiarios.

## 42. To Nikephoros Metochites

If a word of promise becomes a deed it certainly could be a reli-  
able word and could be called so rightfully as it ought. Other-  
wise, it would be like a mere dream or even the shadow of a  
dream. I seem to speak in riddles, but also to a wise man who  
knows how to interpret the twists and subtle turns of riddles.

μβ'

<μγ>  
Τῷ μεγάλῳ διοικητῇ

Περιφανέστατε μέγα διοικητά· οἶά με δρᾶν ἀναπείθει πενία,  
ἀναγκάζει δὲ μᾶλλον ἀνάγκη τολμᾶν, ἥς τὸ σθένος ἀδήριτον;  
φορτικός γάρ οὐκ ἐθέλων δοκεῖν, δὲ μὴ θέλω, ποιῶ· καὶ ὃ πά-  
5 σχων μισῶ, τοῦθ', ὅπως οὐκ οἶδ', εἰμι δρῶν. αἰνιγμα μὲν ὃ  
λόγος, ὃ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· δριμύς μὲν ὃ χειμῶν, δριμύ-  
τερος δ' ὃ παγετός· τό γε μὴν γῆρας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπόσον  
ἔρεῖν πέφυκε κἂν τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ψυχρόν. ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὸ θα-  
νεῖν οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔστηκε. δεῖ δὴ – φασὶ  
10 γάρ τᾶναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα –, χειμῶνι μὲν χλαίνης,  
παγετῷ δὲ σισύρας, γήρει δὲ ἀμφοτέρων. τούτων ἐνὶ γέ τῳ  
περιθαλπτέον ἐμέ.

μγ'

<μδ>  
Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ

Σὺ γάρ δὴ καὶ φιλόσοφος εἶ καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὥς οἶμαι διδά-  
σκαλος, σοὶ με δεῖ διδαχθῆναι, εἴ τίς ποτε κοινωνία καταφάσκει

43. 3 ἥς – ἀδήριτον: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 3-4 || 9 οὐκ ὄναρ – ὕπαρ: Hom. Od. 19, 547; 20, 90 || 9 ὑπὲρ – ἔστηκε: Hom. Od. 20, 32 στῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς || 10 τᾶναντία – ἰάματα: cf. adn. ad . ep. 33, 3-4

10 τὰ ἑναντία P

## 43. To the Megalos Dioiketes

Most eminent great *Dioikete*. To what kinds of action does poverty induce me to resort or even more, urgent need – whose power is uncontested – to what kind of daring does she force me? I do not wish to become a burden, yet I become that which I do not wish. And that which I am loath to suffer, I am doing exactly that, I know not how. It sounds like a riddle, but what it says is the following. The winter is bitter but still bitterer is the frost. As with regard to old age, it is impossible to say how freezing it is to be old. Thus, death is no longer a nightmare but a reality that hangs over one's head. Therefore, one needs – as they say, opposites heal each other – a coat for winter, a fur cloak for the frost, and for old age, both. Let me be warmed by at least one of them.

## 44. To Nikephoros Metochites

You are a philosopher and also, as I believe, a teacher of philosophy – therefore I must be taught by you, whether there is anything in common between an answer in the affirmative and a

- καὶ ἀποφάσει· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις, οἶδα δ' ὅτι κα-  
 5 ταφάσεως μὲν τὸ «ναί», ἀποφάσεως δὲ τὸ «οὐ». εἰ δὲ ταῦτ'  
 ἐναντία καὶ μὴ συμβαίνοντα, ἄρα καὶ καταφάσει ἀπόφασις  
 καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ διαμέτρου ἀφεστηκότα. εἰ δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω, δεῖ δὴ  
 ἢ τὰ καταφάσκοντα βεβαιοῦν ἢ τὰ ἀποφάσκοντα ἀκυροῦν καὶ  
 μὴ τιθέναι τὴν μὲν ἀπόφασιν κατάφασιν, τὴν δ' αὖ κατάφασιν  
 10 ἀπόφασιν, ἅπερ ἀριδῆλως ἐναντία· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστήμης ταῦτα,  
 πειθοῦς δὲ ζυγῷ ταλαντεύεται.

&lt;με&gt;

Ὀψικιάνω

μδ'

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- Εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ὧ θητεύειν ἐδεξιοῦντο φιλοφρονούμενοι, ὧν τοὺς φι-  
 τάτους ἐπαίδευσον, οὐ δῶρον ἀλλ' ἡ θητείας μισθὸς ἦν τὸ κα-  
 ταβαλλόμενον. εἰ δὲ νῦν, ὅτε μὴ θητεύων τελῶ, καταβάλλοιτό  
 5 τίς τι, κρίνοιτ' ἂν δῶρον δικαίως· ἢ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο δῶρον,  
 εἴπερ θητεύσω καὶ αὐθις, εὐχόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον.

44. 4-5 καταφάσεως — οὐ: cf. Matth. 5: 36 ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ  
 ναί· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν || 5-7 εἰ δὲ ταῦτ'  
 ἀφεστηκότα: cf. Aristot. De interpr. 17a 32-33 πάση καταφάσει ἐστὶν  
 ἀπόφασις ἀντικειμένη καὶ πάση ἀποφάσει κατάφασιν

9 ἀπόφασιν (loco posteriore) in marg P

45. 6 καὶ] om LPdTheil

negation. I do not know if there is any, but I only know that for  
 an affirmation there is a 'yes' and for a negation a 'no'. If these  
 two are contrary and do not come to terms, then this is also true  
 of an affirmation vis-à-vis a negation, for both are diametrically  
 opposite. If this is so, one should either strengthen the affirma-  
 tion or invalidate the negation, and not equate the negation with  
 an affirmation and the affirmation again with a negation, both  
 of which are clearly contrary. Such subtleties are not matters of  
 science, they are measured by the art of persuasion.

## 45. To Opsikianos

If the parents of the children I have educated had bestowed upon  
 me gifts and favours for my services, the payment would not be  
 any more a gift but a salary for my services. But if someone  
 would pay me now that I am not hired, this would rightly be con-  
 sidered a gift. And yet this would not be any more a gift, if I am  
 once again hired and express my thanks even more than before.



με'

<μς>  
Ἀκροπολίτη

Ἄλλην τρέχων τις, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, ἄλλην ἐβάδισε. καὶ  
 ἡμεῖς οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἷον πεπόνθειμεν· πεπτωκότος  
 πατρός καὶ φίλου – φίλου μὲν ἐμοί, σοὶ δὲ πατρός –, ὑπέστη-  
 5 μεν τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνω πρὸς ἡμᾶς σχέσεις καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον  
 ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους ἀμφω διατηρεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ'  
 ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως, ὥσπερ λήθαιον πεπωκότες, τὰ τῆς ὑποστά-  
 σεως προδεδώκαμεν καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἐψεύσμεθα, καὶ  
 ταῦτ' ἐκείνου τῷ χρεὼν λειτουργοῦντος, ὅτε καὶ χεροῖν ἀμφοῖν  
 10 ἡμῶν λαβόμενος δεξιᾶν καὶ ἀλλήλαιν ἐναρμόσας καὶ ἐμ-  
 πεδώσας εἶτα τὰ τελευταῖα συνταξάμενος ὥχeto.

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν – ἀνάσχου γάρ μου φιλοσόφως μικρὸν ἐξε-  
 λέγοντος –, καὶ αὐτοπροσώπους ἀφίξεις ἐστειλάμην καὶ  
 γράμμασι πολλάκις ἐλιπάρησα καὶ πάντα κάλων ἐκίνησα,  
 15 πρὸς μνήμην ἐκείνων ἐνάγων· σὺ δέ με ἀθέριζες, φαίη γ' ἂν  
 Ὅμηρος, καὶ Δία τὸν Φίλιον ἐμυκτήριζες, φρεσὶ μὲν ἕτερα  
 κεύθων, ἄλλα δὲ βάζων, ὅπερ ἀπηξίωσεν Ὅμηρος. τῶν τοί-

46. 2 Ἄλλην – ἐβάδισε: cf. Const. Acrop. ep. 69 (162, 1 Romano)  
 Ἄλλην τρέχων ἄλλην ἐβάδισα || 14 πάντα – ἐκίνησα: cf. adn. ad ep. 23,  
 17-18 || 15 σὺ – ἀθέριζες: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 261 καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἶ γ' ἀθέριζον ||  
 16 καὶ Δία τὸν Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11 || 16-17 φρεσὶ – βάζων: cf.  
 Hom. Il. 9, 313 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη

17 ἀπηξίωσεν ex ἀπηγόρευσεν corr P

## 46. To [Konstantinos] Akropolites

Someone was running in one direction, says the proverb, and yet he walked in another. To an extent we have experienced exactly the same. When the father and friend departed – he was to me a friend and to you a father – we vowed to maintain the bond which he had created for us and we for him, and to sustain this bond for each other. Yet we have, I know not how nor for what reason, and as if we had drank the water of forgetfulness we betrayed our vow and proved our promises untrue, despite the fact that he, just before he died, took our right hands in his and joining them together he confirmed our vow and then taking leave of us he departed.

But now I have – bear with me for this small reproach in a philosophic way – sought you out in person, and I also asked you through letters many a time and did everything in my power to remind you of these pledges. But you “set me at naught,<sup>19</sup> as Homer would have said, and scoffed at Zeus the God of friendship, thereby hiding one thing in your mind and saying another, something that Homer disclaims as unworthy. Having given up

19. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 23.

νυν ἐλπίδων, αἷς ἐτρεφόμενῃ, ἐκπεπτωκώς — ὥσπερ τις ναῦς,  
 λιμένος μὲν ἐξοκείλασα, σπιλάσι δὲ καὶ ῥαχίαις ἐγκύρσασα  
 20 ἔβαψε — καὶ κενὴν μακαρίαν ὀνομάσας ἐκείνας ἀτρέμας ἤμην  
 ἐς δεῦρο σιγῶν καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἤκουον. παρατεταμένον οὖν  
 τὸ δεινὸν ὥς μὴ λήθῃ πάμπαν κατεξορχήσαιτο, ἄκραν ἐγὼ  
 βαλβίδα μηρίνου σχάσας ἄνειμι χρηστῶν ἐς διεξόδους ἐπῶν.  
 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ σὲ στοιχῆσαι τοῖς ἴσοις· εἰ δ' οὖν ἅπ' ἐμᾶς  
 25 κραδίης, τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν πάτει καὶ κόσμει Σπάρταν ἦν  
 ἔλαχες.

&lt;μζ&gt;

## Πατρικιώτη

Ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπὼν πάρεμι καὶ παρὼν ἐγγύς εἰμι καὶ πόρρωθεν  
 ἐγγυτέρω, οὐ πτεροῖς, κατὰ Δαίδαλον, ἀλλὰ νοῦ πτεροῖς.

20 κενὴν μακαρίαν: cf. Lucian. Herm. 71, 24 οἱ τὴν κενὴν μακαρίαν  
 ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττοντες; cf. Karathanasis 30-31 || 22-23 ἄκραν — ἐπῶν: Ly-  
 cophr. Alex. 13 || 24-25 ἅπ' ἐμᾶς κραδίης: cf. Greg. Naz. Carm. de se ipso  
 (PG 37: 1399) φεῦγ' ἅπ' ἐμῆς κραδίης || 25 τὴν κατὰ — πάτει: cf. Macar. 8,  
 24 (CPG II 217) τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα || 25-26 κόσμει — ἔλαχες: Synes. ep.  
 101 (171, 3 Garzya); Greg. Cypr. 2, 76 (CPG I 365); 3, 82 (CPG II 118);  
 Karathanasis 47-48

24 ἅπ' ἐμᾶς ἅπ' ἐμᾶς P || 25 σπάρταν ex σπάρτον corr P

47. 2 ἀπὼν — παρὼν: cf. Theoph. Achr. ep. 36 (249, 8-9 Gautier)  
 καὶ γὰρ σοὶ τὰ νῦν ἀπὼν, πάρεμι διὰ τοῦ τῶν γραμμάτων σώματος

the hopes that sustained me — just like a ship that has missed its  
 harbour and goes down shipwrecked driven upon rocky cliffs  
 and reefs — and calling my hopes 'empty bliss', I kept myself quiet  
 until now, listening in silence to the words of others. But in order  
 that this unpleasant situation which has continued so long may  
 not prevail completely over our memory, I took the end of the  
 cord in hand and am now in search of useful words as a way out.  
 I wish you could do the same. If you do not wish to comply, go  
 your own way and adorn the Sparta which fate has given you.

## 47. To Patrikiotes

When I am absent I am there and being present I am also near  
 and from afar I reach you not with the wings of Daidalos but with  
 those of the mind. This may be a strange saying, but again from

καινός μὲν ὁ λόγος καί, λόγον ἄλλον, οὐχὶ καινός· ἐφικτὰ γὰρ  
5 τοιαῦτα ψυχῆς εὐθείας εἰλικρινεῖ διαθέσει.

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Πέρυσιν – οὕτω πάνυ πέρυσιν –, ἤτησα μὲν ἐγὼ σῖτον, σὺ  
δὲ δοῦναι κατένευσας καὶ τὴν δόσιν ἰπαρηγγύησας Πατζο-  
πούλῳ. ὁ δ' ἄμελῆσας καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μακαρίτης γενόμενος,  
ἄμφοτέρους ἠδίκησε, σὲ μὲν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, ἐμὲ δὲ τὴν  
10 εὐεργεσίαν, ἣν αἰτῶ νῦν· στηριζόμενος γὰρ ἄρτω τὴν καρδίαν  
χρῆμην ἂν συντονωτέραις εὐχαῖς τοῦ χορηγήσαντος εἵνεκα.  
καὶ σύ, δικαστὴς ὢν ἄρρεπτεστέρος Αἰακοῦ, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ  
ἀποτίσais ἐπηγγελέμενην εὐεργεσίαν.

μζ'

<μη>  
Πεπαγωμένῳ

Εἰδὼς ἐκ παιδός σε καὶ ἐς μεираκια παραγγείλαντα ἀστεῖον,  
ἡδὺν, μέτριον, οἷς τ' ἄλλοις ἐν ἡβῇ χαίρουσιν ὄντες χαίροντα,  
καὶ νῦν ἐν ἀνδρῶν τελείων ἵζοντ' ἀριθμῷ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὥμην ἔτι  
5 χαίρειν· φύσις γὰρ ὥσπερ αὕτη τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ ἡβῇ καὶ  
γῆρει διατελεῖν, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας προήεσαν ἡθεσιν.  
ἀμέλει τοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀναλόγοις ἐχρώμην, ἀστείαις  
μὲν πρὸς ἀστεῖον, πρὸς ἡδὺν δὲ ἡδέαις καὶ μετρίαις πρὸς μέ-

47. 10 στηριζόμενος – καρδίαν: cf. Ps. 103:15 καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώ-  
που στηρίζει

a certain point of view it is not so strange at all. Because this kind  
of wings are attainable by a sincere and well-intentioned soul.

Last year – scarcely a year ago – I requested grain, you con-  
sented to give me some, and then you entrusted the order of the  
offering to Patzopoulos. But he neglected the matter and shortly  
after he passed away, doing an injustice to both of us, for you to  
receive gratitude and for me a favour for which I am now asking.  
Because when I sustain my heart with bread, I could pray even  
more earnestly on behalf of my benefactor. And you being a  
more exacting judge than Aiakos, in no way would you not ren-  
der a promised favour.

## 48. To Pepagomenos

I have known you ever since your childhood and also when you  
reached the age of youth, to be a polite, pleasant, and moderate  
young man, who also enjoyed the joys of youth, and now that  
you have reached full manhood, I thought that you might still  
enjoy the same things. Because the nature of most people both  
in youth and in old age is such that they retain unchanged the  
habits with which they grew up. Therefore, I formulated accord-  
ingly my letters to you at that time – polite letters to a polite  
man, pleasant letters to a pleasant man, and sober-minded let-

10 τριον. ἐλάνθανον δὲ ἄρα ἐξαπατῶμενος, νῆ τὸν Φίλιον, καὶ φορτικὸς ἀνθ' ἡδέος οἰόμενος. ἀλλὰ νῦν χρησαίμην ἂν ἀρρενωπότερον πρὸς γεναῖον σοφόν θ' ὁμοῦ καὶ ῥητορικόν· εἰ δ' οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν εἶην ἂν εὐφραντέος, πεσὼν κεισεῦμαι, Θεόκριτός φησιν ὁ βουκολικός.

<μθ>

Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ

μη'

Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Πνεύματος εὐαγγέλιον αἰτεῖν ἐντέλλεται καὶ λαμβάνειν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ γράμματος νόμος τῷ ἔχοντι φησὶ δύο χιτῶνας μεταδοῦναι τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, τῷ προτέρῳ  
5 μὲν πειθόμενος, τῷ δευτέρῳ δ' ἐπόμενος, προθέσει μὲν δίδως, χειρὶ δὲ κατέχεις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντικείμενον τῷ δευτέρῳ. ἐγὼ δέ, πῶς οἶει πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμων; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῆς χάριτος ἥλιος, οὗ τῆς θερμῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀποκρυβήσεται, τὸ τῆς  
10 χλαίνης μὲν ἐπιπόλαιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐποψείδιον, κερκίσι θείαις ἐξύφανε, τό γε δ' ἐνδότερον καὶ ὑποκρυπτόμενον καὶ σαρκὶ προσεχέστερον σοὶ χορηγήσειν ἀπεχαρίσατο. ὥς ἂν συγχοι-

48. 9 νῆ τὸν Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11

12 πεσὼν κεισεῦμαι: Theocr. Idyl 3, 53

49. 2-3 αἰτεῖν — λαμβάνειν: Matth. 7:7 αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν ||  
3-4 τῷ ἔχοντι — μὴ ἔχοντι: Luc. 3:11

8 οὗ τῆς θερμῆς] in marg P

ters to a sober-minded man. But unaware that I was deceived in this respect, yea by Zeus the god of friendship, instead of becoming pleasant, I became burdensome. Now I would employ a more manly style appropriate to a noble, wise, and eloquent man. If even now I am not pleasing to you, I will throw myself down and lie where I have fallen, as the bucolic poet Theocritus says.

#### 49. To Nikephoros Metochites

The Gospel of the Holy Spirit commands us to ask and receive, while the law of the Holy Writ enjoins that he who has two cloaks share with him who has none. You are persuaded by the first command and you follow also the second, being generous in your disposition, and yet you hold your hand back, something that contradicts the two. As for me, how forgiving do you think I am about such matters? But now the sun of charity, from whose warmth no one can hide, has woven with the divine weaver's shuttle the outer side of the cloak, which is the visible part, and to you has awarded the honour to provide the inner and hidden side which is close to the body. In order that you may share his

ωνήσης αὐτῷ τῆς χάριτος, ἀπόδος δὴ τοῦτο· καὶ ῥάψεις μὲν  
σύ, ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς ἀμφιέσομαι τὸ χλαινίδιον.

<v>

μθ'

Ἀνδρὶ εὐγενεῖ Ἀκαρνᾶνι ῥήτορι καὶ σοφῷ

p. 136

Εὐγενέστατε, λογιώτατε, ῥητορικώτατε καὶ σοφώτατε, γράμ-  
ματα τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τιμίας ψυχῆς καὶ διαθέσεως σῆς, ἡ μὴ μέν-  
τοι γε καὶ χειρός, ὑπτίαις, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, χερσὶν εἰληφώς πῶς  
5 δοκεῖς καὶ ἦσθην καὶ ἡνιάθην ἄμφω κατὰ ταῦτό; ἦσθην μὲν  
τῷ λαβεῖν, πάλαι τοῦτο διψῶν, ἡνιάθην δὲ τῷ διαθεεῖσθαι  
σε περιαλγῶς ἐπὶ ταῖν ἐμαῖν ἐπιδημῶν καὶ ἀρρωστίαιν. ἀλλ'  
εὐαγγελίζομαι χαίρειν· παιδευθεὶς γὰρ μετρίως παρὰ τοῦ  
κρείττονος ἐς τὸ λῶν ἀναδεδράμηκα, καὶ νῦν εὖ ἕξως ἔχων  
10 εἰμὶ καὶ καθαρᾶς ἀπολαύων ὑγείας.

Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί μή, γράμμασιν ἐπιστείλας, εἰωθόσιν ἐχρή-  
σω, ἔρρητορευμένοις δηλαδὴ κεκομψευμένοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς,  
ἀπλοῖκοις δὲ τισι καὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ τούτοις δι' ἄλλοτρίας χειρός;  
μή, δέομαι, τοῦ λοιποῦ, μή, λογίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τέχνην καὶ  
15 κάλλος κομμωτικοῖς, ὅποιοις ἡ σὴ παιδεία πρεσβεύεται, καὶ

49. 12-13 καὶ ῥάψεις — χλαινίδιον: cf. Hdt. 6, 1 τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα  
ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης

50. 4 ὑπτίαις — χερσίν: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Lib. ep. 1192, 1  
(XI 277, 14 Foerster)

8 ἀγγελίζομαι LPdTheil

favour, grant the inner side – you shall sew it indeed yourself,  
and I will wear it straight away.

50. To a noble Akarnanian, an orator and a man of wisdom

Most noble, erudite, eloquent, and wise friend, I received with  
open arms, as it is said, the letter of your holy and honoured soul  
and disposition – although it was not (written) by your own hand  
– and I have been delighted and at the same time grieved; de-  
lighted because of your letter for which I was long since longing,  
and grieved because you felt greatly pained upon hearing of my  
sickness and woes. But now I bring you the good news so that  
you can rejoice. After I was moderately chastened by the  
Almighty, I have recovered for the better and now feel well and  
am enjoying good health.

But why in the letters you sent me have you not employed as  
you were wont your refined and learned style of oratory, but in-  
stead a simple and pedestrian message written even by someone  
else's hand? No, no, I beseech you, do not repeat it again, but as-  
sume again your refined style which is embellished by beauty  
and art, as it is appropriate to your culture, and even more in  
the Queen of Cities, which is girded with the flowers and blos-

ταῦτ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, τῇ τῶν λόγων ἄνθῃ  
καὶ βλάστῃ καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον φιλοσοφίας κράτος ἀνεζωσμένη,  
τῇ περιθρυλλήτῳ φημί Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρω-  
τίστου φιλευσεβοῦς βασιλέως καὶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης  
20 ὑπερτάτῃ τὴν εὐσέβειαν μητροπόλει. τί πρὸς ταύτην Ἀθῆναι,  
αἱ πρὶν μὲν χρυσαῖ ταῖς παιδεύσεσιν, νυνὶ δὲ κενὴ μαχαρία,  
καὶ ἀνθ' Ἑλληνίδος ἄκρας ἄκρα βάρβαρος ἀντιπεριστᾶσα;  
Χρῶ τοίνυν καὶ φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ, ἵν' εἰδοῖεν οἱ δεινοὶ καὶ  
ταῦθα τῶν σοφιστῶν οἷός τις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑρμῆς ἐντέ-  
25 θραπτὰ λόγιος καὶ παιδεία σεμνὴ πολιτεύεται. καὶ σεαυτὸν  
καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τιμῶν ἀν' εἰς καὶ εὐγενίζων.  
Ἐρρωμένος βιψῆς, Θεῷ κεχαρισμένος, ψυχῆς ἐμῆς καὶ  
καρδίας εὐγενὲς ἀγλαΐσμα καὶ ὠραΐσμα.

<να>  
Πεπαγωμένῳ

Ἦκει σοι μὲν ὁ λόγος – ἐπήγγελτο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅπως οὐχ  
ἤξειν, σοφώτατε –, ἦκει δὲ πῶς δοκεῖς μεθ' ὅσης αἰδοῦς, φάναι  
δὲ μᾶλλον ὑποστολῆς, περιδεδιῶς τῇ ψήφῳ οἷα τις ἐξοίσεται;  
5 καὶ ἴσως μὲν τῆς δοκούσης, οὐκ ἐμοὶ τὴν χάριν εἴσεσθαι δεῖν,

21 κενὴ μαχαρία: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 20

25 σεαυτὸν] in marg P || 27 ἐρρωμένος, βιψῆς LPdTheil

soms of oratory and with the royal powers of philosophy – I mean the famous and superior in piety to the Old Rome, the City of Constantine, the greatest and foremost pious Emperor. What is Athens in comparison, the once golden city in learning, being now just 'empty happiness', transformed from a citadel of Hellenism to a citadel of barbarism?

Apply then your natural talent and your art of eloquence so that the illustrious sophists of this place may learn that we have also nourished a Logios Hermes who regulates his life according to the principles of serious learning. In this manner you would honour and dignify yourself and your native land.

May you live in good health under God's protection, noble ornament and adornment of my heart and soul.

51. To Pepagomenos

The discourse is sent to you as it was promised – how could it be done otherwise – with much embarrassment, my most wise friend, or better said with hesitation, as I am afraid of your judgment. If perhaps it is considered acceptable, the merit should not be ascribed to me, but rather to the Virgin, the Theotokos,

πολλῷ γε δὲ πάντως τῇ συναραμένη παρθένῳ καὶ θεομήτορι,  
ὕπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ ἐξενήνεχται, εἰ δὲ θατέρας, εἴην ἂν νεμεσητέος  
ὁ προενεγκὼν ἔγωγε, αὐτὸς δ' ἀποψηφισθεὶς ἐπανηκέτω μεθ'  
ἧττης παρὰ πατέρα τὸν πεπομφότα.

&lt;νβ'&gt;

Γαλησιώτῃ |

p. 137 νᾱ'

Εἰ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἤλθες, σοφώτατε, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ψῆφον  
αὐτοῖς δικαίαν ἔχεις ἐξενεγκῶν· οὐ γὰρ μήποτε ψηφίσαι  
ψῆφον εὐνοία δεδεκασμένην, ὅτι μὴδ' Αἰακὸς ἢ Μίνως ἢ Ῥα-  
δάμανθος. εἰ δ' ἴσως μήπω, δεῖ δὲ διελθεῖν καὶ μὲν εὖ ἔχοιεν,  
5 πεμφθέντων μετὰ τῆς ψήφου, ἣν ὡς Ῥῆνος ἀδέκαστος δι-  
καστῆς τῶν τε γνησίων καὶ νόθων γεννημάτων τῶν λόγων  
ἐξοίσεις. εἰ δ' οὐκ εὖ, τὸ ὑποσχάζον ἐπανορθώσας πέμψον·  
τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκράτου φιλίας τεκμήριον.

8 ἀποψηφισθεὶς — πεπομφότα: cf. Synes. ep. 1 (4, 9 Garzya) ἀποψη-  
φισθεὶς δὲ ἐπανίτω παρὰ τὸν πέμψαντα

7 ἐξενήνεχται P

52. 2-4 ψῆφον — δεδεκασμένην: cf. adn. ad ep. 37, 47-48 || 4-5 Αἰακὸς  
— Ῥαδάμανθος: cf. Salzmänn 10-11 || 6-7 ὡς Ῥῆνος — νόθων γεννημάτων:  
cf. adn. ad ep. 25, 5-6

4-5 ἢ μίνως ἢ ῥαδά] in marg P || 5 δὲ] supra scr P

who helped me and in whose honour the Oration was composed.  
If the verdict is different, the blame should be placed on me, the  
writer, and the rejected piece should be returned after its defeat  
to the creator who sent it out.

## 52. To Galesiotes

If you went through my work, my most wise friend, then you  
have already formed a fair opinion about it; since you would not  
pronounce a partial judgment, just like Aiaikos, Minos, and  
Rhadamanthys. In case you have not read it yet, you should do  
so, and if it is acceptable send it back together with you opinion,  
like the incorruptible judge Rhenos, deliberating over genuine  
and false products of learning. But if it is not in good order, cor-  
rect the faulty part and return it. For this would be a proof of  
true friendship.

νβ'

&lt;νγ&gt;

Τῷ κραταιῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει σου, φι-  
 λευσεβέστατε καὶ φιλοχριστότατε, κραταῖε καὶ ἅγιε δέσποτά  
 μου. μυρίοις πράγμασι περιστοιχιζομένης τῆς ἀηττήτου σῆς  
 5 ἀγίας βασιλείας, ὡς μήποτε ἂν προσθήκη τις εἶην καὶ αὐτὸς  
 καὶ μὴ καιροὺς εἰδὼς διακρίνειν καὶ προσβολὰς τηλικούτων  
 καὶ τοσούτων φροντίδων, ἑτέραν ἑτραπόμην τῇ τοῦ βίου στε-  
 νύσει. ἁμέλει τοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐχρησάμην, δοκῶν ἐκεῖθεν  
 εὐρηκεῖναι παράκλησιν. ἀλλὰ λύκος ἦν ἀντικρυς εἰς ἀέρα χαί-  
 10 νων ἢ μὴν ἄρκος οἰκίλους περιλιχμάζουσα πόδας, τρυφὴν  
 τρυφῶσα καὶ νῆν καὶ ἀδάπανον· τὸ γάρ τοι τοῦ πολυπόδος,  
 ἐὼν πόδα τένδοντος, οὐτ' οὐχὶ δάκνον οὐτ' οὐκ ἐπίπονον.

Πάντες οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος, παρεώρων καὶ ἀπε-  
 τρέποντο. ἡττημένος οὖν ἀνάγκης, δίκην κυνὸς στρεφομένης  
 15 ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον, ἐπανακάμπτω πάλιν ὡς ποταμὸς ἀνάρ-

53. 9-10 λύκος — χαίνων: Diogen. 6, 20 (CPG I 273); Greg. Cypr. 4, 15 (CPG II 121); Apostol. 10, 85 (CPG II 510) λύκος ἔχανε; Karathanasis 112  
 || 10 ἄρκος — πόδας: cf. Scholia in Hesiodum (522, 4 Gaisford) Χειμῶνος γὰρ πολλοῦ γεγονότος τὸ θηρίον ἢ ἄρκτος ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς φωλεῷ καθημένη τοὺς ἰδίους πόδας περιλιχμάζουσα διαζῇ, τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι τροφῆς || 12 ἐὼν πόδα τένδοντος: cf. Hesiod. Op. 524 ὅτ' ἀνόστεος ὃν πόδα τένδει || 14-15 κυνὸς — ἔμετον: cf. Prov. 26:11 ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον; Apostol. 10, 30 (CPG II 492); Karathanasis 110 || 15-16 ὡς ποταμὸς ἀνάρρους: cf. Mant. Prov. 1, 15 (CPG II 746) ἀνὰ ῥοὺν χωρεῖν

10 πόδας] in marg P || 13-14 ἀποτρέποντο LPdTheil

## 53. To the mighty and holy Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God di-  
 vine majesty, my most pious and beloved of Christ, mighty and  
 holy Lord. At a time when your holy and undefeated kingdom is  
 surrounded by innumerable cares and lest I become an addi-  
 tional burden to you or appear ignorant of the situation and of  
 the accumulation of many and great problems, I have sought an-  
 other recourse driven by my poverty. I turned to the nobles, ex-  
 pecting to receive some help from them. But I came out like a  
 wolf gaping in the air or rather like a bear licking its own paws,  
 indulging itself in a new and inexpensive delight. Yet to gnaw at  
 one's own tentacles like an octopus hurts and is painful.

As if by common agreement all of them turned away, avoid-  
 ing me. Being compelled by my needs, I come back like a dog  
 that returns to its own vomit or like a river that flows back to its



ρους παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν πηγὴν καὶ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς προστρέχω  
μεγαλοδωρεαῖς καί, βίου κάμνων στενώσει, δέομαι διαίτης  
χρηστῆς. ἀλλὰ σύ, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, φιλόσοφος ὢν ἱατρός,  
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως μὴ σπλαγχνισθεὶς τὰ πρὸς ἱατρειάν ἐπιτήδεια  
20 συγχεράσεις ἀλεξιφάρμακα.

&lt;νδ&gt;

νγ'

## Τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστικῷ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ

Τῷ περιθρυλλήτῳ δὲ ἄρα μεγάλῳ δομεστικῷ, σωφροσύνης  
εἵνεκα καὶ φρονήσεως ἀνδρίας τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης, τίς ποτ' ἂν  
ἕτερος ἀρμόσειε στέφανος ἢ μὴν ὁ ἐκ λογικῶν ἐγκωμίων; οἱ  
5 γὰρ ἐξ ἀραβικῶν μύρων καὶ Ἰνδικῶν ἀνθέων, ἐπειδὴ περ γῆθεν  
προέρχονται, καὶ πρὸς γῆν χωροῦσι καὶ ῥέουσιν· οἱ δ' ἐξ  
ἀρετῶν διαιωνίζοντες καὶ ἀμάραντοι καί, τὴν γένεσιν ἄνωθεν  
ἔχοντες, ἀμέλει καὶ ὅθεν προῆλθον ἀναλύουσι καὶ ἀνέρχονται,  
ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ λόγων δεόμενοι. σοφὸς γὰρ τις  
10 φησί, τὰ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργων, ἂν μὴ λόγων τύχη κηρύκων,  
ἀπορρεῖ τῆς μνήμης καὶ λήθην ἀμπίσχεται, ἢ παρὰ μόνον τὸν  
καιρὸν ἀνθήσαντα τὸν τοῦ πράττεσθαι, ἅττα δὲ φήμη λάβη  
σὺν λόγῳ, τελοῦσιν ἀφθίτα διαμένοντα· τὰ δ' αὖ πόνοις κα-

p. 138

54. 10-12 τὰ μεγάλα — πράττεσθαι: Syn. ep. 99 (167, 6-9 Garzya) τὰ  
γὰρ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργων, ἂν μὴ τύχη λόγων κηρύκων, ἀπορρεῖ τῆς μνήμης  
καὶ λήθην ἀμπίσχεται, παρ' αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν τοῦ πράττεσθαι καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς  
ὄρωσιν ἀνθήσαντα

13-14 κατωρθώμενα LPdTheil

own source, appealing to your imperial generosity for your kind  
support, being constrained by my needs.

You shall certainly take pity on me, my most divine-Emperor,  
and as the philosopher physician that you are you shall prepare  
the necessary remedy for my cure.

## 54. To the Grand Domestikos Kantakouzenos

To the famous Grand Domestikos, to whom on account of his  
prudence, magnanimity and justice, what other crown would  
suit him better than an encomium of words of praise? The  
wreaths which are made of Arabian perfume and Indian flowers  
wither quickly and disappear into the earth from which they  
emerge. On the other hand, the crowns of virtue remain eternal  
and unfading since they descend from above and when they dis-  
solve they ascend from whence they originated, and for this rea-  
son they are in need of the Muses and Rhetoric.

For great deeds, as a wise man says, fall into forgetfulness  
and are covered by oblivion if they do not chance to be heralded  
in words, and blossom only at the time of their accomplishment,  
but when their story is recorded in words then the deeds remain  
immortal for eternity. The deeds, however, that have been ac-  
complished with hard work are preserved through the remedy

15 τωρθωμένα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων συντηρεῖται φαρμάκοις,  
ἀνεπιλήπτα διαβαίνοντα· οὗτοι γάρ, οὗτοι καὶ πτερόεντες  
ὄντως φύσει καὶ πανταχῇ γῆς διάττοντες, κλείζοντες μὲν τοὺς κά-  
τωρθωκότας, τοὺς δ' αὖ ζηλοῦντας ἐπαίροντες καὶ ἐξευγενίζοντες.

Ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐγὼ τῷ μῶ τρισαριστεῖ καὶ τρισολυμπιο-  
νίκη προσαρμόττω τὸν στέφανον, Πινδάρῳ τῷ σοφῷ παρεγ-  
20 γυῶντι πειθόμενος, ἀρχομένου ἔργου χρῆναι θεῖναι πρόσω-  
πον τηλαυγές. τρέφομαι δ' ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς καπὶ λαμπρῶν  
κίωνων χρυσῶν λαμπροτέρους θαλάμους ἀνεγερῆν, ἐπειδὴν  
δομέστικος μὲν ὁ μέγας – εἰρήσθω δὲ σὺν Θεῷ –, διαβάς τὸν  
Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ πατῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν, γυμνὴν ἀνατείνων τὴν  
25 σπάθην, Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν ἔργον ταύτης τιθεῖν, τοὺς δ' αὖ τρέ-  
πων δουλαγωγοίη, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀφορμὰς ἐγκωμίων καὶ λόγων  
ὑποθέσεις παρέχοι, τῷ Πέρσῃ Ξέρξῃ στρατευόμενος τάναν-  
τία, ἀπειλῶν δούλην τὴν Περσίδα παραστήσειν τοῖς βα-  
σιλεῦσι, τὴν δ' αὖ μεγάλην Ἀσίαν τῆς μικρᾶς Εὐρώπης  
30 θεράπαιναν. ὁπότε δὴ καὶ συγγραφέως τῶν ἔργων Ὀμήρου  
δεήσει δευτέρου, οὐκ Ἀχιλλέως οὐδ' Ἑκτορος ἢ μὲν Αἴαντός  
τε καὶ Διομήδους οὐτ' οὖν λοιπῶν ἀριστέων ἀνδραγαθίας  
ἐπιόντος τε καὶ συγγράφοντος, ὅτι μὴ μεγάλου δομεστίκου  
ἐκστρατείας καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ τρόπαια, τῇ τε νῦν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
35 καὶ ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐσομέναις γενεαῖς ὑπομνήματα.

15 οὗτοι – πτερόεντες: cf. Const. Acrop. ep. 52 (147, 6-7 R. Romano) ὡς  
γάρ φησιν ἡ ῥαψωδία, πτερόεντες οἱ λόγοι || 20-21 ἀρχομένου – τηλαυγές:  
cf. adn. ad ep. 37, 44-45

18 τῷ μῶ P || 27-28 τὰ ἵκναι P || 30 θεράπαινειν LPdTheil

of words and thereby are never to be forgotten. For words by their very nature are provided with wings and fly everywhere across the earth, praising the ones who accomplish great deeds, encouraging others to do the same and excel.

From such flowers I weave my wreath which I offer to my thrice-victorious and Olympic winner, persuaded by Pindar who exhorts us that “over our work’s beginning we needs must set a front that shines after”. So I cherish good hopes that I shall erect upon bright golden columns a more magnificent monument as soon as the great *domestikos* – may God grant the request – crosses over the Hellespont and sets foot in Asia and with drawn sword attacks the Persians and slaughters others, putting others to flight and taking them slaves, giving me the opportunity for praise and material for composing his encomia, for in his campaign he pursues the opposite goal of Xerxes and threatens to make Persia a slave to our Emperors and the great Asia a servant to small Europe. Then a second Homer will be needed as an author for his accomplishments, who will not celebrate in song the heroic deeds of Achilles or of Hector or of Aias or even Diomedes and other celebrated warriors, but the expeditions, the conduct of operations, and victories of the Grand *Domestikos*, so that they will be a memorial for us and future generations.

&lt;ve&gt;

## Τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ δομestίκῳ

νδ'

p. 139

Ὁ περιφανὴς μὲν τὴν ἀξίαν μέγας δομestικός, περιφανέστε-  
 ρος δὲ τὴν εὐγένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν γε μὴν κορωνίδα τῶν  
 ἀρετῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν λοιπῶν σειρὰν ἀπασῶν καὶ λίαν  
 5 περιφανέστατος, ἀπορῶ ποῦ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγκωμίων,  
 πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων περ ὄντων, ἔμοιγε κείσεται· διὰ ποίαν  
 δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐγκωμιασθεὶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐκείνης γένοι-  
 ᾷ ἐγκωμιαστής, ὅπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπολαμβάνων, ἀντιδιδούς  
 10 πολλαπλάσιον καὶ μᾶλλον εὐγενίζων ἢ περ εὐγενιζόμενος; ποῦ  
 δέ μοι φρενός, Πίνδαρός φησιν ὁ σοφός, ἐγγεγράφεται, τῇ  
 μεγαλοφυῇ πάντα νικῶν; ἢ ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν λογιζόμενος ἱλιγγίῳ  
 μοι τὸν νοῦν καὶ σιωπᾶν ἂν ἡρώμην, ποιητὴς δὲ φησιν, ἔστι  
 μὲν οὐ λόγος τιμιώτερον σιγῆς, ἔστι δ' οὐ σιγὴ κρεῖττον  
 15 λόγου. τοιγαροῦν ἀνθαιρούμαι λέγειν, ὥς μὴ τῷ μακρῷ χρό-  
 νῳ συγχρυβῇ τὰ καλὰ μὴδὲ βυθῷ λήθης παραρρυῇ. γνωμα-  
 τεύει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Σοφοκλῆς οὕτως· ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς  
 ἀναρίθμητος χρόνος φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται,  
 ταῦτόν, οἶμαι, τῷ Κρόνῳ ποιῶν, ὅς, ἐπειδάν οἱ τέκοι Ῥέα, ὁ  
 δ' εὐθὺς τὸ τεχθὲν κατεβρόχθιζεν. οἷς δ' ἂν τελούμενοις λόγος

55. 9-10 ποῦ δε μοι — ἐγγεγράφεται: cf. Pind. Olymp. 10, 2 πόθι  
 φρενὸς ἐμᾶς γέγραπται || 13-14 ἔστι — λόγου: cf. adn. ad ep. 32, 5-6 || 14-  
 15 ὥς μὴ — παραρρυῇ: cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 44, 1 (PG 36: 608) ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα  
 τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλὰ, μὴδὲ παραρρυῇ λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενα ||  
 17 Soph. Aj. 646 sq. || 18 ταῦτόν — ποιῶν: cf. Hesiod. Theog. 459

6 παρόντων (pro περ ὄντων) LPdTheil || 16 καὶ] om LPdTheil

## 55. To the same Grand Domestikos

The distinguished in dignity Grand Domestikos, more distin-  
 guished in the nobility of his soul, but most distinguished be-  
 cause he embodies the summit of virtues from which all virtues  
 proceed, causes me perplexity me in perplexity, because I do not  
 know how to intone the praise of his great and numerous ac-  
 complishments. For which of his virtue could he be glorified and  
 not become himself its panegyrist, because the praise he re-  
 ceives he gives it back in the manifold, lending nobility rather  
 than receiving. Where in my heart, says the wise Pindar, has  
 been written, the one who is victorious over all by his lofty ge-  
 nius? Thinking about it I become dizzy and I would rather prefer  
 to keep silent; yet a poet says there are instances where speech  
 is more worthy than silence, and there are others again where  
 silence is better. I prefer, however, to speak so that good deeds  
 shall not be hidden in the course of time nor be swept into the  
 depths of oblivion. Sophocles also confirms it thus: "Time in its  
 slow, illimitable course brings all to light and buries all again".<sup>20</sup>  
 In this respect, time does nothing else but what Kronos did, who  
 as soon as Rhea gave birth to his child he devoured it. But if  
 human accomplishments are put into words, the actions are pre-

20. Sophocles, Ajax, tr. F. Storr 57.

20 ἐφεστώς ἤ, σχεδὸν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος συντηρῶν ἔσται τὴν γένεσιν  
καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα παραδιδούς ἀκοαῖς ἐς ψυχὰς διαπορθεύ-  
σει τὴν μίμησιν· αἱ δέ, πλαστὶ λογικαῖς ἐγχαράσσας, μνήμαις  
ἀνεξαλείπτους αὐτὰ παραπέμψουσι. καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν Ὅμηρος  
μαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου δῆπουθεν ἄλλου λέγων τὸ δ' ἐμὸν  
25 κλέος οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις περιαιτολογῶν.

Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ πείθει πόθος ἐμὲ πρὸς λόγον· λόγος δ',  
ὄκνον ἐκτιναττόμενος, τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἰσχὺν ἐπαίρει θαρρεῖν. ὁ γε  
μὴν περιφανὴς μέγας δομέστικος, πρὸς οἷς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν  
ἐνευθηνεῖται καλοῖς πληρέστατος ὢν, εἴ τις ἄλλος, καὶ τῆς  
30 κεφαλαιώδους τῶν ἀρετῶν διακρίσεως, ἀποδέξεται μὲν — οἶδ'  
ὅτι — τὸν πόθον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἅν' βραχὺς ἤ,  
διὰ τὸν πόθον προσήσεται, καθαπερεὶ Χριστὸς τὰ δύο λεπτά  
τῆς χάρας προσήκατο, μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν λεπτῶν προσεσχνηκῶς  
εὐτελές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ τῆς προσενεγκάσης προθέσεως. ἀμέλει  
35 καὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀξίαν ἀντεσταθμῆσατο τῇ προθέσει.

Δεῖ δὴ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμῖν ἀμφοῖν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ γε  
ἀντιλαμβάνειν ἀνάλογα. καὶ σὲ μὲν, διαβάντα τὴν περαιάν  
καὶ καλῶς τὸν τῆς Ἑλλης πόντον ἐναντίως Ξέρξῃ διαπεραι-  
ωθέντα, πατηῆσαι μὲν καὶ λεηλατῆσαι χώρους ἅπαντας Περ-  
40 σικούς, αὐτοὺς δὲ Πέρσας καὶ πέρα περᾶσαι Γαδεῖρων, φόβῳ  
δὴ καὶ φυγῇ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεράτων κατατολμῶντας, γυναῖκας

24-25 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν — ὀλεῖται: Hom. Il. 7, 91 || 32-33 τὰ δύο — χάρας: cf. Marc. 12: 42; Luc. 21: 2 || 40 πέρα — Γαδεῖρων: cf. Pind. Nem. Ode 4, 68; Greg. Naz. ep. 173 (Il 62, 4 Gallay) τὸ δὲ πρόσθε Γαδεῖρων μὴ περατὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις, Πινδάρῳ φιλοσοφοῦντι πιστεύομεν; Karathanasis 54

20 ὅπως (pro ὁ πᾶς) LPdTheil || 31 οὐχ ἥκιστα P || 32 καθάπερ εἰ P

served almost to eternity and moreover they are delivered to the ears of people and from there they are conducted to their souls in order to be imitated. Being thus engraved on the tablets of the mind, they are committed to lasting memory. Even Homer confirms this in one of his rhapsodies, when he puts the words in one of his heroes saying "my glory shall never die",<sup>21</sup> although in reality he sings his own praise.

On account of all this my desire prompts me to take up writing and the task dispels my hesitation and assures me of my ability. But the distinguished Grand Domestikos, who beside all his other merits excels above all in the attainment of the summit of virtues, shall accept my wish — I am sure about it — and no less my discourse, even if it is a short one, and he shall approve its intention, like Christ who accepted the two follies of the widow, without taking offence at their worthlessness, appreciating much more her displayed intention. In a similar way, the Grand Domestikos measures his benevolence, by taking into account the intention of the act.

We must both therefore offer and receive accordingly. For your part, you shall now pass over to the other side, and having crossed the Hellespont successfully in the opposite direction of Xerxes, to conquer and plunder all the Persian lands, driving out these same Persians beyond Gadeira, inducing them out of fear to flee to remote places, taking their wives and children together

21. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 309.

δὲ καὶ μειράκια σατράπαις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ζυγῷ δουλείας  
 ὑποξυγνύντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὄλβους τε καὶ θησαυροὺς Μυ-  
 σῶν λείαν πεποιημένον, τὴν δ' αὖ μεγάλην ὅλην Ἀσίαν τοῖς  
 βασιλικοῖς πῆχσιν ὅσα δούλην τῶν τριχῶν ἀνεσπασμένην  
 καὶ ἀνθελκομένην Εὐρώπῃ δουλεύουσας, ἐχθροὺς δ' ἀσπόν-  
 δους Εὐρωπαίους καὶ Λίβυας ὁμοῦ σατραπάρχαις, φαλαγ-  
 γάρχαις, ταγματάρχαις, λοχαγοῦς τε καὶ λόχους, στρατηγούς,  
 ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ δορυφόρους, τοῖς αὐτοκρατορικοῖς ὠραίους  
 ποσὶ τοὺς σιδηροὺς τραχήλους συγκάμπτοντας καὶ χοῦν τὸν  
 ὑποπόδιον λείχοντας, σποδὸν τρυφῶντας ὡς ἄρτον καὶ πόμα  
 δάκρυα πίνοντας. λόγοι δὲ ῥητόρων καὶ συγγραφέων, Ἡρα-  
 κλείους καὶ Διονυσείους ἄθλους τε καὶ στήλας παρέντες, τὰ  
 τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου συγγράφοιεν κατορθώματα. καὶ γὰρ  
 δ' αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ συγγράφοιμ' ἂν, ἅτταπερ ἐκείνοις παρεῖται, ἢ  
 πεπονηόσι λήθην ἢ λόγων κόρον ὡς ἀκοαῖς πολέμιον φεύγουσι.  
 τίνα ταῦτα; πτωχοτροφεῖα, χορηγίαι δεομένοις, προστασίαι  
 χηρῶν, ὀρφανῶν ὑπερασπισμοί, πενομένων προμήθειαι, κα-  
 ταπονουμένων ἀντιλήψεις, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, ὅσ' ἅττα τῶν τοιούτων.

43-44 Μυσῶν λείαν: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Apostol. 11, 83 (CPG II 538); Macar. 6, 5 (CPG II 189); Karathanasis 43 || 49-50 ὠραῖοις ποσὶ: cf. Si. 26: 18 πόδες ὠραῖοι || 50 σιδηροὺς τραχήλους: cf. Is. 48: 4 νεῦρον σιδηροῦν ὁ τράχηλός σου || 50-51 καὶ χοῦν — λείχοντας: cf. Is. 49: 23 καὶ τὸν χοῦν τῶν ποδῶν σου λείξουσιν; Man. Phil. Carmina 112 (I, 305, 91 Miller) Nunī dē blēfais toūs ēchthrouς λείχοντας χοῦν, ὡς λόγος || 51-52 σποδὸν — πίνοντας: cf. Ps. 101:10 ὅτι σποδὸν ὡσεὶ ἄρτον ἔφαγον καὶ τὸ πόμα μου μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ ἐκίρνων

59 δσάττα P

with their satraps themselves under the yoke of slavery for our Emperors, seizing their wealth and treasures as booty. The whole of great Asia will be snatched by the hand of the Emperor and dragged by the hair to serve as a slave of Europe and then the unreconciled enemies will follow next, Europeans and Libyans together with their satraps and commanders of phalanxes, leaders of divisions, captains and armed bands, generals, shield-bearers and spearmen, all will bow their iron necks before the beautiful imperial feet, lick the dust under his feet, eating ashes for bread and mingling tears with drink.

Authors and orators must set aside the exploits and the monuments of Heracles and of Dionysus in their discourses and write about the accomplishments of the Grand Domestikos. I will myself undertake to write what those authors left out, either because they forgot or because they considered the excess of the speeches as adverse to the ears. What do I have in mind? Poor-houses, support of the needy, assistance to widows, protection of orphans, relief of the poor, support of the oppressed and all those kinds of similar charities.

- 60 Τίτον μὲν οὖν, ὀλβιόδιωρον καὶ βεβοημένον ἐπ' εὐεργε-  
 σίαις, τοσοῦτον ἐφήμισαν Ἕλληνες, ὥστε καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι  
 κρατεῖν ἀνάγραφτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, συμβᾶν ἡμέρας τινος οὐκ  
 εὐεργετῆσαι, φάσκειν κατ' ἐκείνην μηδὲ βασιλεῦσαι, ὅρον τινὰ  
 καὶ σταθμὸν οἰοῖ βασιλείας τοῦτον ὀριζόμενον τὴν εὐερ-  
 65 γεσίαν. τὰ σὰ δὲ τῶν χρηστῶν τίς ἢ νοῦς ἐξειπεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν  
 ἢ κόνδυλοι γράφαι, καὶ νοῦν νικῶντα καὶ λόγων ἰσχὺν ὑπερ-  
 βαίνοντα; ἔσαι γὰρ τρόπαια τροπαίοις καὶ νίκας ἐπὶ νίκαις  
 προστίθης. αἶ γε μὴν εὐεργεσίαι — ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ταύταις ἔστιν  
 ἔρεῖν ὅσῳ μείζους τῶν προτέρων αἶ δεύτεραι. τίνες ταῦτα  
 70 συγγράψαιτ' ἂν συγγραφεῖς; Ὀμήρων ἔδει καὶ Πινδάρων,  
 Ἡροδότων τε καὶ Θουκυδιδῶν, πρὸς δὲ Πλουτάρχων, Κα-  
 τῶνων, Σκηπτιώνων καὶ τῶν ὅσοι τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους κόμματος.  
 Ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ἤδη πρὸς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ νοῦ στρέφω τὸν  
 ἄξονα καὶ λύω τῆς ἡνιοχείας τὸ ἄρμα, τὰ θ' ἰστία τῷ λόγῳ  
 75 χαλάσας πρὸς τὸν λιμένα καταίρω τῆς σιωπῆς, εὐχαῖς ἐπι-  
 σφραγίζων τὸν ὅρμον.

60-63 Τίτον — βασιλεῦσαι: cf. Mich. Glyc. Annales, 445,4 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτον εἰπεῖν «σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασιλεύσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ τινὰ οὐκ εὐεργετήσαμεν» || 74-75 τὰ θ' ἰστία — σιωπῆς: cf. Basil. Seleuc. Or. XXXIX (PG 85, 449) Οὐκοῦν τὰ ἰστία τοῦ λόγου χαλάσας, εἰς τὸν ἀσφαλῆ τῆς σιωπῆς λιμένα ὁμήσω

68 προστίθης] in marg P

The Greeks have glorified for his generosity and benevolence Titus, the famous Emperor, to the extent that there is a story written about him: if he did not perform a good deed on a certain day, he believed that he had not ruled on that day, in this way establishing charity as a condition and as a mark of kingship. But as to your acts of benevolence, which intellect could recount and what kind of writing instruments could transcribe them so as to surpass the mind and the power of speech? For you have long succeeded in adding trophies upon trophies and victories upon victories. As with regard to the charities one can hardly describe the greatness of the recent ones in relation to the former. Which authors could write about them? Authors like Homer and Pindar are needed, as also Herodotus, Thucydides and Plutarch, Cato, Scipio and whoever else belongs to their circle.

As for myself I turn now the axle of my mind to the terminus and having released the wheel-horses from the chariot and pulled down the sails of speech, I sail into the harbor of silence, blessing with my prayers my safe haven.

&lt;κ&gt;

## Λουκίτη πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

Ἐμέ δ' εἴ τις ἂν ἔροιτο, τίνα δὴ ταύτην ἡδονὴν ἡδομαι τίς θ' ἦν χαίρω χαρὰν καὶ ὅστις δὴ ἐορτάζω ἐόρτιον τίς τέ μοι τούτων ὁ πρόξενος, οὐδέν ἕτερον ἂν πύθοιτο, ὅτι μὴ τὸν λαμπρὸν πρωτοβεστιαρίον σέ καὶ τὰ σὰ χρυσᾶ γράμματα, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐμφερῇ τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα, ἅττ' ἐξ Ἑσπερίδων Ἡρακλῆς ἄθλον ἦνεγκεν Εὐρυσθεῖ. αἶ γε μὴν ἀποστολαὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἤττους θώρακος ἐκείνου δαιδαλέου, δὴ Ἀγαμέμνων περὶ στήθεσιν ἔδυνε, τὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι. πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος, οὐνεκ' Ἀχαιοὶ ἐς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἔμμελον· τοῦνεκά οἱ τὸν δῶκε χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ. τοῦ δὴ δώδεκα οἵμοι ἔσαν χρυσοῖο· οἷς ἡμῖν χρυσίνους ἰσαριθμούς δῶρον ἀπέσταλκας. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν ἀποστόλων σοι δωδεκάδα μνηστεύομεν, ὧν ἡ ξυνωρίς μὲν τῶν κορυφαίων, Πέτρος, ἡ στερρὰ πέτρα, ἐφ' ἣ Χριστός, ἡ τῆς ζωῆς πέτρα, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπωκοδόμηκε, καὶ Παῦλος, ἡ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος παῦλα, πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμά σοι περιέποιεν· ἡ δεκάς δὲ τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς τε καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς

56. 6-7 χρυσᾶ μῆλα – Εὐρυσθεῖ: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Apostol. 11, 57 (CPG II 528) χρυσᾶ μῆλα, & Ἡρακλῆς ἡγάγεν ἐξ Ἑσπερίδων || 8-12 περὶ στήθεσιν – βασιλῆϊ: Hom. Il. 11, 19-23 || 12 τοῦ δὴ – χρυσοῖο: Hom. Il. 11, 25 || 15-16 Πέτρος – ἐπωκοδόμηκε: cf. Matth. 16: 18 καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν || 16-17 Παῦλος – παῦλα: cf. Ioannes Beccus, De libris suis (PG 141: 1021) Γρηγόριος, ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀνάπαυλα

7 κατουδὲν P || 11 τοῦ ἵνεκα P

## 56. To Loukites, the Protovestiaris of the Trapezuntines

should someone ask me which pleasure I enjoy most and which joy I rejoice or which celebration I celebrate and who might be the source of all this, he would hear nothing else but that I praise you, the illustrious Protovestiaris and your golden letters, to which even the golden apples that Heracles brought as trophy from the Hesperides to Eurysthenes cannot be compared. As for the gifts dispatched to me, they were in no way inferior to that adorned breastplate, with which Agamemnon "next he did on about his chest [the corselet] that on a time Cinyras had given him for a guest-gift. For he heard afar in Cyprus the great rumour that the Achaeans were about to sail forth to Troy in their ships, wherefore he gave him the breastplate to do pleasure to the king".<sup>22</sup>

The twelve bands of the armour were certainly made of gold, the same number of gold pieces you have sent to me as a gift. In return for which I entrust you to the twelve Holy Apostles, to the top two, Peter, the firm stone, upon which Christ, the stone of life, founded His Church, and Paul, the resting place of the Holy Spirit, that they may protect your body and soul. The re-

22. Ibid., I, 481.

20 ἀναλογοῖεν ἂν ταῖς τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος πεντα-  
δικαῖς αἰσθήσεσι καὶ δυνάμεσι, δέκα μουσικαῖς νήταις  
ἀναλογοῦσα· ὥς ψαλάττων ὡς πλῆκτρον ὁ μουσικώτατος τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας Ὁρφεὺς ψαλτήριόν σε δεκάχορδον πρὸς ὑμνωδίας  
θεϊκᾶς πνευματικῶς ἀναβάλλεται.

25 Ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον τόνδε σεπτέος ὁ δώδεκα· ἔστι δ'  
οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ διὰ τὸν τοσάριθμον χορὸν τῶν ἐξ Ἰακώβ τοῦ  
πατριάρχου πατριαρχῶν. ναί γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θύραθεν  
φιλοσόφους τιμητέος, ὡς αἱ παρ' ἐκείνων συνιστῶσιν αἰτιολο-  
γίαι τε καὶ φυσιολογίαι, περιεκτικὸς ὢν τοῦ ἕξ δις — ὃς ἐκ  
30 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συντιθεμένων μερῶν, ἡμίσεος δηλαδή, τρίτου τε  
καὶ ἕκτου, ἀπαρτίζεται καὶ ὑφέστηκεν ἔσω τῆς δεκάδος, ἐν  
μονάσι πρῶτος τέλειος ὢν —, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀκτῶ  
θεωρούμενος λόγον ἡμιόλιον ἔχων· ἔω γὰρ φάναι καὶ τὴν  
περιφορὰν τῶν τοῦ ζυδιακοῦ τρεῖς τεττάρων ζυδίων, οἷς ἀνα-  
35 λόγως καὶ ἡ τῶν μηνῶν δωδεκάς ἄρτιον περικυκλουμένη τὸν  
χρόνον ἀποκαθίστησιν, ἡ μὴν καὶ λόγους ἴσως ἄλλους, πρὸς  
οὓς νοῦς ἐμβατεύει φιλόσοφος, οὓς δῆτα καὶ τιμητέον σιγῇ.

Καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀριθμοῦ τοσούτων ἄλλις. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τῶν  
ἐσταλμένων ἀμφιέσομαι μὲν

40 δέρματα λαχνήεντα τά τε φρίκην ἀλεείνει,  
θώρακα χειμερίων νιφάδων ἀλεωρῆς τ' ἄλλακα,  
ὡς μὴ ἱς Βορέαο διὰ χρωτὸς ἄησιν,

22 ψαλτήριον — δεκάχορδον: cf. Ps. 32: 2 ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκάχορδῳ || 39  
δέρματα λαχνήεντα: cf. Hom. Il. 9, 548

41 post Βορέαο excidit fort vox δριμύ: cf. ep. 70, 46

maintaining ten Apostles, who come after the top two, would correspond to the five sense organs and powers of body and soul and they may even be likened to the ten musical chords, which the musically gifted Orpheus of the Church strikes up as a plectrum and employs you like a ten-chord harp in singing spiritually his divine hymns.

The number twelve is to be revered then for this reason, but not least and for the equal number of the choir of patriarchs descending from the patriarch Jacob. But this number is honoured also by the secular philosophers, who argue about it on causal and physiological grounds, because it comprises two times six, being made up from its own parts, that is half, one third, and one sixth, and is contained within the first decade and is considered the first perfect single number. It also represents the one and a half of eight. I have not mentioned the three times of the four signs of the zodiac sphere, which proportionately surrounds the twelve months and completes the cycle of the year. But perhaps I have not mentioned other views with which philosophers deal and which should be honoured with silence.

But enough regarding numbers. With the dispatched I will dress up woolly leather that keeps away the bitter cold, an armor, a shelter and defense against winter snowflakes, so that the power of the north wind does not come through the skin



εἶτα δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνα θερμότερον εὐχῶν, ἐπεὶ κελεύεις,  
 ἐπαποδύσομαι τε καὶ περιζώσομαι καὶ τὴν ἰ ἐξ ὕψους ὑπὲρ  
 45 ὑμῶν ἀντίληψιν, ὅσον οἷόν τ', ἐκκαλέσομαι. Παῦλος ὁ καλός  
 — πῶς οὐ καλός γάρ, δν καλὸν ὁ κάλλιστος καλεῖ πρωτοβε-  
 στιάριος; — περὶ τὸν ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα σπεύδων ἀπόπλουν ἐν-  
 θένδε, δέλτου τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας, ἣτις τὸν Ὀδυσσεύς  
 50 ἔκπλουν διέξεισι πρὸς γε Λαιστρυγόνας, Κίκονάς τε καὶ  
 Φαίακας, ἐμνημόνευσε καὶ χρεώ σε ταύτης ἔφασκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 τοῖς ἱστοῖς τὰ ἱστία σχεδὸν ἐπὶ κεραιῶν καλωδίοις ἦν αἰω-  
 ρήσας καὶ καιρὸς ὁ τῆς ζητήσεως ἀποκέλειστο, τῆς νεῶς ἤδη  
 τοῦ λιμένος ἐξοχειλάσης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ πως ἔσκεν ἀνα-  
 55 δύναι, μετέπειτα ζητηθήσεται καὶ πλῶ δευτέρῳ διαπεμφθή-  
 σεται. νυνὶ δ', ὃ μόνον ἦν, διαπέπεμπτται. τὸ δ' ἔστί, λίτρα  
 θυμιάματος μία· οὐδὲ γάρ οὐδ' ἐνῆν τῷ θυμιαματοουργῷ μοναχῷ  
 πλεῖον μιᾶς, οὐ, μὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Φίλιον. ἦν δὲ μόσχος ἄριστος δια-  
 πεμφθείη, φησί, φθινοπώρου δὴ τοῦ παρόντος κατασκευάσει  
 καὶ διαπεμφθήσεται ἕαρος. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧν ταρίχη εὐρέθη, ὅτι  
 60 τοι μηδὲ προσέσχον ἀλεία γένος ἰχθύων κεφάλων οὐδὲν οὐ-  
 δαμῇ· ποθεῖν δὲ τὸν μὴ παρόντα καὶ μάτην καλεῖν ὡς Ἡρακλῆς  
 Ὑλλαν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἄξυντελές καὶ ἀνόνητον.

52-53 οὐ πως — ἀναδύναι: cf. Hom. Il. 7, 217; Synes. ep. 5 (11,7 Garzya)  
 οὕτως ἔτι ἔσκεν ὑποτρέσαι οὐδ' ἀναδύναι || 53 πλῶ δευτέρῳ: cf. adn. ad ep.  
 4, 15-16 || 56 μὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11 || 60 μάτην καλεῖν —  
 Ὑλλαν: cf. Apostol. 17, 9 (CPG II 688) τὸν Ὑλλαν κραυγάζεις: ἐπὶ τῶν  
 μάτην πονούντων καὶ κραυγαζόντων

42 κελεύσεις LPdTheil || 59 ἀλεία LPdTheil || 61 ἀνόνητον LPdTheil

and then I will begin and prepare myself for a fervent fight of  
 prayers, as you have urged me, and I will call upon you the help  
 from Heaven in as much as I can. The excellent Paul — how can  
 he not be excellent, whom the most excellent Protovestiaros  
 calls excellent? — as he was in a hurry to sail from here back to  
 Trebizond, mentioned the *Odyssey* by Homer, which describes  
 the voyage of Odysseus to the Laistrygones, Kikones and Pha-  
 iakes, saying that you needed it. But since the sails of the ship  
 were already spread out and drawn with ropes on the mast the  
 time for searching was ruled out as the ship was departing from  
 the port and for this reason it was impossible to turn it back. The  
 search for the book will follow later and will be sent in a second  
 journey. For the time being, only what is available is being sent  
 — that is, a litre of incense, because the monk who makes it did  
 not have more than one, believe me by Zeus, the god of friend-  
 ship. If he gets first rate musk, he says, he will prepare it the  
 coming autumn and send it in the spring. Nor was caviar to be  
 found, as they did not catch any mullet at all. To have a yearning  
 for the absent and to call him in vain like Heracles did Hyllas, as  
 in the proverb, is both useless and unprofitable.

Ἐρρωμένος, Θεῷ φίλος διαβιώῃ μοι ἐς μακράωνας δὲ  
κάλλιστος καὶ τριπόθητος ἐμοὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος.

<νζ>

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

νζ'

Εἴτα, κολοιὸν μὲν, ὄρνεον μέλαν, πρόνοιά τις τοσοῦτον ὥ-  
ραϊον συνέστησεν, ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ὀρνέων ἀξιοθῆναι· τοὺς  
πρὸς Ἑρμοῦ δὲ μεγίστης εὐδαιμονίας τετυχηκότας, τοὺς  
5 Ἑρμαϊκοὺς δὲ περιορῶντας θεράποντας, καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανοῦντας  
Ἑρμῇ χρυσοῦν ἀναστήλοιν ἀνδριάντα, οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυσχεραί-  
νων Ἑρμῆς; καὶ μὴν ἔνεστι καὶ φύσις καὶ τέχνη καὶ τύχη τοὺς  
ἐκείνῳ θητεύοντας συνιστάναι βελτίους καὶ δεικνύναι ταῶς  
ἀντὶ κολοιῶν καὶ κύκνους λιγυροὺς ἀντὶ κρωζόντων κοράκων.

<νη>

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

νζ'

Ὅσπρίῳ τῷ φαυσηλίῳ γεωργῶν παῖδες ταύτην εἶναι φύσιν  
φασίν· ἀνίσχοντος μὲν ἡλίου πρὸς ἑὼ νεύειν αὐτό, σταθηρᾶς

57. 2-3 κολοιὸν — ἀξιοθῆναι: cf. Aesop. Fab. 103 (I, 1, 129, 1 sq., Haus-  
rath-Hunger); Salzmann 81-82 || 5 Ἑρμαϊκοὺς — θεράποντας: cf. adn. ad  
ep. 7, 40-41 || 9 κύκνους λιγυροὺς: cf. Lucian. Electr. 4, 5 κύκνοι ... τὸ λι-  
γυρόν ἐκείνο ἄδουσιν; Salzmann 82

58. 2 φαυσηλίῳ] sic P || 3 φασί LPdTheil

May my thrice-longed-for and most excellent Protovestiaros  
be in good health and live under the protection of God for a very  
long time.

## 57. To the Grand Logothetes

And then some providence made a common black bird, the jack-  
daw, so beautiful that it was deemed worthy of the kingdom of  
birds. Yet, those who have attained great prosperity through  
Hermes, nonetheless disregard his servants, who could erect for  
him a golden statue. But would Hermes not be displeased at it?  
Especially when by their origin, position and fortune they can  
help the situation of those that serve Hermes and even set them  
up as peacocks instead of jackdaws and sweet-sounding swans  
instead of croaking ravens.

## 58. To the Emperor

The farmers say the following about the properties of the legu-  
minous bean plant: At sunrise it inclines towards the east, at

5 δὲ μεσημβρίας κατὰ κάθετον βάλλοντος πρὸς ὀρθὸν ὀρθιον  
 βλέπειν τὸν ἥλιον, ὑποκλίνοντος δὲ καθ' ὀρίζοντα τὸν ἑσπερον  
 ἔπεσθαι καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέρας ἐκάστης, οἶονεὶ τῇ φαύσει δουλα-  
 γωγούμενον, κἀντεῦθεν σχεῖν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀρμόττου-  
 σαν. φαυσήλια τῷ κράτει σου σύμβολα πέπομφα, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ  
 φαύσεως ἡλίου μέχρι δύσεως ἄρξαις.

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&lt;νθ&gt;

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

νη'

5 Πυροῦ τελέως ἐκλελοιπότες με ἔργον γέγονα πυρετοῦ, πυ-  
 ρετοῦ δέον ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεῖ δὴ κριθῆς· αὕτη γὰρ καταψύχειν  
 πυρετὸν δόκιμος. αὐτοῦ καταψυγέντος δεῖ δὴ πάλιν πυροῦ.  
 5 ἐναντία γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀκέσματα. πρόσταξον  
 ἅμφω πρυτανευθῆναι, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ· θάτερον γὰρ βο-  
 θήσει θατέρω.

&lt;ξ&gt;

Φωκᾷ φοιτητῇ

νθ'

Εἴτα, πελαργοὶ μέν, ὄρνιθες ἄλογοι, προνοοῦσι τῶν πατέρων  
 γεγηρακότεων καὶ τροφῆς δεομένων — ἡ πρόνοια δέ, ταῖς  
 γεραιαῖς πτέρυξιν ὑφέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαίρουσι πως ἀνακουφί-

59. 5 ἐναντία — ἀκέσματα: cf. adn. ad ep. 33, 3-4

60. 2-5 πελαργοὶ — διαθρέψαιεν: cf. adn. ad ep. 38, 14-16

high noon, when the sun shines his rays vertically, it turns to  
 the sun standing upright, and when the sun reclines towards the  
 horizon in the west, it follows him and this happens daily, as if  
 it is governed by the illumination, and for this reason it has re-  
 ceived this fitting name. I have sent beans to your sovereignty  
 so that you may rule from sunrise in the east to sunset in the  
 west.

## 59. To the Emperor

When my wheat ran out completely, I had a fever attack. To be  
 relieved of the fever I am now in need of barley, which is ap-  
 proved for cooling the temperature. But as soon as the fever is  
 cooled I am in need of wheat again, because although the two  
 are opposed to one another yet they are the remedy for each  
 other. Give the order, your excellency, for them both to be given  
 to me, as the one will assist the other.

## 60. To the student Phokas

When the storks, birds devoid of reason, take care of their parents  
 when they grow old and are in need of sustenance — their care is  
 bestowed upon them in that they support the wings of the old  
 birds with their own and raise them up, making their flight some-

5 ζοντες καὶ παρὰ χωρίον θήρας ἐξάγουσιν, ἵνα δὴ διαθρέψαιεν  
καὶ θαυμάσιον τὸ προμήθευμα, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς παροιμίαν  
προενεχθῆναι τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν —, ἡμεῖς δέ,  
κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγεννημένοι καὶ λόγῳ τετιμημένοι, ὧ γέ  
δὴ τῶν ἀλόγων διαφέρομεν, καὶ λόγον ἐπιόντες παιδεύσεως,  
10 οὐκ ἂν ἐγκαλοίμεθα πρὸς ὀρνέων ἀλόγων, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ λο-  
γικοῖς τελοῖμεν προσήκοντα;

Οἶδα μὲν αἰνιγμα δοκῶν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡ λύσις σαφής.  
ἴσθι με δυσπραγοῦντα, τὸν παιδευτήν, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
ἐνδεία παλαίοντα. πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν λόγων, ὧν δὴ μοι  
15 μετέσχηκας, βράχιον τῷ γήρει συγκρότησον, εἴτε τῆς παι-  
δεύσεως εἵνεκα, εἴτ' οὖν φιλίας, εἴτ' ὀφειλῆς ἐτέρας· οἶσθα γάρ  
πολλαχόθεν ὀφείλων μοι.

<Ξα>

Τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁρους

Ἀγιώτατε δέσποτά μου, ὅτι μὲν δυσπραγοῦμεν ἔχεις ὀλίγα  
μεμαθηκώς, ἐξ ὀλίγων δὲ πολλὰ διεγνωνκώς, ἢ μᾶλλον πάντα  
σχεδόν, οἷα νοῦς διαβατικώτατος· φησὶ γάρ τις τῶν θύραθεν

7 ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7 || 8 κατ' εἰκόνα — γεγεννημέ-  
νοι: cf. Gen. 1:27 κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν

5 θῆρ LPdTheil || 15 εἵγε (pro εἴτε) LPdTheil

61. 4 νοῦς διαβατικώτατος: cf. Greg. Naz. in laudem Athanasii (PG  
35: 1084) ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος νοῦς καὶ διαβατικώτατος

what lighter, and they direct them to a hunting ground to feed  
them, a marvellous provision, so that the *antipelargosis* has become  
proverbial. But we are created in God's image and have been  
graced with the gift of reason by which we are set apart from the  
irrational animals and moreover claim that we are enlightened.  
Would we not be denounced then by the irrational birds, if our  
conduct did not agree with that of an intelligent being?

I give the impression that I am speaking in riddles, but the  
answer is now plain. Be informed then that your teacher is faring  
ill, struggling with poverty for the necessities of life. For God's  
sake and for the sake of scholarship, which you have acquired  
through me, support my old age, either on account of your  
learning or your friendship or some other debt. You know that  
you are indebted to me in many ways.

## 61. To the Protos of the Holy Mountain

From the little you have learned about my misfortune, reverend  
Father, you have understood, as a penetrating mind, much more  
or rather almost everything. As some one of the secular writers

5 ἐν μάθημα πλεῖστ' ἂν ἐξεύροι καὶ παροιμία συνίστησιν, ἐν πολλὰ λέγουσα.

Ἐγὼγ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν βασιλίδα ταύτην ἔχων τῶν πό-  
 λεων πράττω πονήρως, ὁ σοφὸς δὲ Συνέσιος ἐπιστέλλων  
 10 εἰς τὸ τυγχάνειν εὐμενοῦς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν τύχην ἀλλάττοντας,  
 πόσω μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὅθεν ἔστιν ἡ βοήθειαν;  
 δόξαν οὖν ἀπᾶραι πρὸς τὸ τῶν ὁρέων ἁγίον τε καὶ σωστικόν,  
 οὗ σε προεστάναι Θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐδικαίωσαν, εἴτ', εἰς  
 15 νοῦν βάψαντι, μήποτ' ἂν ἔξω σκοποῦ βάλοιμι — γιγνόμενον  
 γάρ —, ἕτερός με θυμὸς ἀνέηκε πυθέσθαι σου πρότερον, εἴπερ  
 ἀφιγμένον προσήγη μονοδρίῳ τ' ἐγκαθορμίσεις ἀναψυχὴν τιν'  
 ἔχοντι καὶ παράκλησιν· τοῖς τραχυτέροις γάρ ἐκ προοιμίων  
 αὐτῶν προσβαλεῖν, πρὶν ἐγγυμνασθῆναι τοῖς κουφοτέροις,  
 ἴσως ἀδόκιμον, καὶ δέος μὴ παθεῖν ὃ φησιν Εὐάγριος ὁ θεή-  
 20 λατος, φάσκων, ὀπηνίκα διαφορῶν βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐστὶ  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, ἄρτῳ στενοῦσθαι καὶ ὕδατι· οὗ δὲ τὸν ὄρον τοῦτον  
 ἀνατρέπων ἀνθορισμαῖς ὁ τῆς δόξας πατὴρ κλίμακος, ὀπηνίκα

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5-6 ἐν πολλὰ: cf. Soph. Oed. Rex 120 ἐν γὰρ πόλλ' ἂν ἐξεύροι μαθεῖν ||  
 9-10 καὶ παρὰ — Θεοῦ: Synes. ep. 40 (51, 4-6 Garzya) καὶ παρὰ τὰ χωρία  
 τι γίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸ τυγχάνειν τε καὶ ἀποτυγχάνειν εὐμενοῦς  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ || 11 παρὰ τοῖς ὄρεσιν — βοήθειαν: cf. Ps. 121: 1 Ἦρα τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὅθεν ἥξει ἡ βοήθειά μου || 20-21 ὀπηνίκα — ὕδατι:  
 Evagr. Pont. Cap. pract. A 7 (PG 40: 1224 B) ὀπηνίκα διαφορῶν βρωμάτων  
 ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἐπ' ἄρτῳ στενοῦσθαι καὶ ὕδατι || 22-  
 25: ὀπηνίκα — ἡδύνοντα: Ioan. Climax Scal. 14 (PG 88: 865B) ὀπηνίκα  
 διαφορῶν βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, φύσεως ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖ ... περι-  
 κόφοι τῶς τὰ λιπαίνοντα, εἴτα τὰ ἐκκαίοντα, εἴθ' οὕτως τὰ ἡδύνοντα

said "one lesson would lead one on to learn a great deal" and the proverb confirms it, saying "one is many".

I live in the Queen of Cities and yet my affairs get worse; but as the wise Synesios says in his letters, there are places which exert a certain influence on the welfare of the people in gaining God's blessings and in changing their fortunes. This holds even truer for the mountains, whence help comes. I have decided to depart for the holy and salvation-offering Mountain, where God and the Emperor have established you to preside. Then I reconsidered it, lest my venture fail — as it happens also — therefore another thought prompted me to inquire from you beforehand, if after my arrival you will accept me and set me up in a small monastery that will provide some rest and support. It is perhaps not approved from the very beginning to start with the rough side of monasticism, without having a previous training in lighter matters, because in this case there is a danger of suffering that which Euagrios, the driven away by God, mentions: when the soul craves different food, it should be straightened by bread and water. But this tenet was refuted by the Father of the Holy Climax with another one according to which, he says,

25 διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμείν ἔστι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἴδιον ἐπιζη-  
τεῖν τι, φησί, φύσεως καὶ δεῖν περικόπτειν τέως μὲν τὰ λι-  
παίνοντα, εἴτα τὰ ἐκμαίνοντα, εἴθ' οὕτω τὰ ἡδύνοντα, καὶ  
τοῦτον ὅρον ὠρίσθαι διαίτης ἀρίστης.

30 Ἦν οὖν ἐνδιδῶς, γράμμασιν ἱεροῖς γνώρισον, καὶ δῆτα,  
τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, καὶ χωλὸν ὄφει πρὸς δρόμον· εἰ δ' οὖν,  
κατὰ χώραν μενεῶ, τὴν τ' ἐμαυτοῦ πατῶν καὶ κοσμῶν Σπάρ-  
ταν ἣν ἔλαχον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι κατὰ Θεμίστιον, ἥσθα  
κάτω κρείσσων, ἀναβάς δ' ἐγένου μέγα χείρων.

<Ξβ'>

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Ξα'

Ἐπειδὴ σοὶ καὶ λόγος καὶ πόθος, ἄλματα περὶ λόγους γεν-  
ναῖα τὸν φίλτατον ἄλλεσθαι καὶ σκύμνον οἷα λέοντος περὶ  
θήραν, εἶναί τε πτερωτὸν ἀετιδῆ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν λόγων

28 χωλὸν – δρόμον: cf. Mich. Chon. ep. 129 (211, 84-85 Kolovou);  
Karathanasis 55 || 29-30 κοσμῶν – ἔλαχον: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 25-26 || 30-  
31 ἥσθα – χείρων: cf. Jo. Italus Quaestiones quodlibetales (29, 69 Joan-  
nou); Pseudo – Elias in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium KB' (46, 7  
Westerink)

26 ὠρίσασθαι LPdTheil || 28 post ὄφει voculam quondam erasit P || 29-  
30 σπάρταν ex σπάρτον corr P || 30 ἥλαχον LPdTheil

62. 3-4 σκύμνον-θήραν: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Gen. 49: 9; Deut.  
33: 22

when the soul hungers after different food, one should seek out  
that which is a trait to his nature, thereby cutting off first fat-  
tening food, next those that arouse desire, and then the ones  
that bring pleasure, defining this rule as the best regiment.

If you agree then, let me know through your holy letters and  
then you will see that even a lame can run, as the proverb says.  
Otherwise, I will stay where I am, holding my ground, adorning  
the Sparta which fate has given me, and I would not say as  
Themistios "you were better when below, but in ascending be-  
came far worse".

62. To the Grand Logothete Metochites

It is your expressed wish that your dearest son make great strides  
in his studies like a small lion in pursuit of prey or like a sharp-  
sighted small eagle flying upwards to the sun of learning. Let him

5 ὁξυδερκέστατον ἥλιον, ἐπέσθω οἱ παιδαγωγός, ὅτι δὴ καὶ  
 λόγων ἔρως καὶ παιδεύσεως ἔφεσις καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀπάντων  
 τούτων βέλτιον οἰομένῃ. καὶ γὰρ, ὧς περισπούδαστος λόγος,  
 ῥᾶσ' ἂν καὶ μετὰσχοι καὶ μεταδοῦναι φιλοτιμήσαιτο· ναὶ μὴν  
 10 καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοιούτου παιδαγωγούμενος, εἴ ποτ' ἂν ἔκεῖνος  
 ἀπῇ, φροντιεῖ μὲν τῆς ἐν ὁδοῖς εὐκοσμίας, φροντιεῖ δὲ τῆς ἐν  
 Μουσείοις διατριβῆς τῆς οἴκοι τε σεμνῆς καταστάσεως,  
 δεδιώς ἐπανήξοντα τὸν παιδαγωγὸν καὶ λόγον ἀκριβῶς  
 ἀπαιτήσοντα, καὶ παρημέληκέ του δίκας ἀξίας ληφόμενον·  
 φοβεῶν γὰρ ὄντων τῶν παιδευτῶν οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ φοβερώ-  
 15 τεροι, τοῖς νέοις συνόντες ἐφέστιοι.

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Τοῦτό μοι δέον εἶναι δοκοῦν, εἰ καὶ τῇ σῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἰσυν-  
 δόξει, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡ παιδείας ὑπερόπτης ἂν κριθείην ἐγὼ  
 ἢ μὴ λόγων τὸν φίλτατον ὄνασθαι.

&lt;ΞΥ&gt;

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Ἦρημένον με σιγᾶν οὐ φησιν ἔασειν ἀνάγκη· ἀνάγκης κρα-  
 τούσης αἰδῶς ἀναπείθει σιγᾶν. ἀπορῶ γοῦν, ὅτι ποτ' ἂν  
 χρησαίμην ἀμφοῖν, μᾶλλον δ' ὅ τι μεταξὺ θείων αὐτῶν, ἵν'  
 5 ἔμαυτὸν χαρισαίμην ἐκείνῳ. πλήν, ἐπειδὴ φασιν αἰδοῦς  
 ἀνάγκην κρατεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ θεοῖς ἔξεστι μάχεσθαι, χρηστέον ἂν

63. 6 ἀνάγκην — μάχεσθαι: cf. Simonid. fr. 37, 29 (Page); Zenob. I, 85 (CPG I 28); Apostol. 3, 6 (CPG II 289) ἀνάγκη οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται; Salzmänn 71

therefore be attended by a pedagogue who loves learning, who has a calling for teaching and believes that nothing is more important than education. Because anyone who is eager for learning would readily participate in this activity and would even aspire to share his experience with others. On the other hand, the one who is being educated by such a teacher, even if his mentor should be absent will try to behave decently in the street, pay attention to his studies in school, and respect the order prevailing at home, fearing the return of the pedagogue and his demand for an exact account, and that if he has disregarded something that he will be deservedly punished. If teachers are to be dreaded, pedagogues are to be feared more, living in the same home with the young.

All of the above I consider as essential and if they are in agreement with your philosophy, then I could not be judged as arrogant in matters of education or as not advancing your dearest in his studies.

## 63. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

I had chosen to keep silent but my need does not allow me, and yet when my need prevails my self-respect persuades me to keep silent. I am at a loss then which of the two to make use of or rather to put forward in order to make the choice. But as the saying goes, need is stronger than honour and even the gods cannot fight it. I therefore select need and with it I speak out.

εἴη ταύτη τε καὶ τῷ λέγειν. καὶ σύ, διαιτητής, εἴ τις, ὧν ἀρ-  
ρεπής, παρόντι καιρῷ χαριῇ.

10 Συχνός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι μάτην παρώχῃκε,  
μηδὲν ὀναμένῳ τῆς λειτουργίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλήρης ἐτῶν ἡ  
φορτὶς καὶ φροντὶς μή ποτ' ἐξοκείλαντι τοῦ λιμένος περι-  
πεσεῖν ναυαγίοις καὶ δεῖ δὴ κυβερνήτου, σέ μοι χρᾶ τὸ δαι-  
μόνιον, παρ' ᾧ τὰ τῶν βασιλέως ὀλβων πηδάλια· εἰ γὰρ  
15 νεύσαις μόνον καὶ βασιλέα πείσαις, κατάραιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὄρμον  
ἐγὼ καὶ μιμήσεται μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸν Θεόν, σὺ δὲ τὴν νεφέλην,  
ἅφ' ἧς χρυσὸν Ῥοδίοις ὕσεν ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ μ' ὀλβίσας πενόμενον  
συστήσαις ἂν καὶ νέους, Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας. εἰ δ' οὖν,  
Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις ἐς Κέρβερον, σχολή, χολή δὲ μᾶλλον, ἐς  
20 κόρακας· κρεῖσσον γὰρ βάναντος βίος βίον ἐμπορευόμενος ἢ  
λόγος, κυμβάλου δίκην ἀλαλάζων ἦχον ἀέριον. πρὸς τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, γινώρισον τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

15-16 νεφέλην — Ζεὺς: cf. Pind. Olymp. 7, 34; Lib. ep. 348, 11 (X 330,  
15 Foerster) τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μιμήσασθαι νεφέλην, ἅφ' ἧς ἐκεῖνος ὕσε Ῥοδίοις  
χρυσὸν || 17 Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41 || 18 σχολή —  
χολή: cf. Diog. Laert. Vit. philos. 6, 24, 2 [Διογένης] τὴν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν  
ἔλεγε χολήν || 20 κυμβάλου — ἀλαλάζων: cf. I Cor. 13:1

As an objective arbitrator, show me then your kindness in this instance.

I have wasted a long time in the education of children without deriving any profit from this service. But now that the freighter has become very old and there is a concern lest it run aground and suffer shipwreck, I am in need of a helmsman and as such the divine power recommends you, who holds the rudder of the Emperor's treasury. If you would only consent and convince the Emperor, I could put my ship into port; and the Emperor then imitating god and you the cloud, — from which Zeus rained gold down on the Rhodians — having pronounced me rich in my poverty, you will support the young people who serve Hermes. Otherwise, Hermes together with the youth let it go to Cerberus and my school or better said my bile to ruin. Better to win a living as an artisan than by trading words, which let off a noise in the air as if from a clanging cymbal. For God's sake, make my letter known to the Emperor.



ΞΥ'

&lt;Ξδ&gt;

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Μακρός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι παρώχηκε, κράτιστε  
 βασιλεῦ, καὶ τῆς ἐπαράτου λειτουργίας ὀναμένῳ μηδέν τι  
 γὰρ ὄναιτ' ἂν τις ἐκ ματαιότητος, τί δ' ἥσυχον γένοιτ' ἂν ποτ'  
 5 ἀπὸ θορύβου ἢ μὴν ὀρθὸν ἐκ λοξοῦ; τοιγαροῦν, ἀπειρηκότι  
 παιδοτριβεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ῥᾶον οὐδὲν ἄνευ σῆς  
 προσταγῆς. δέομαί σου τοῦ κράτους δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τῆς λει-  
 ουργίας ἀπαλλαγῆν ἢ τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων σιτηρε-  
 σίαν, ὡς ἂν, πενομένων διδασκομένων, ἐς τὴν σὴν τοῦ βασι-  
 10 λέως ψυχὴν διαβαίῃ τὸ κέρδος· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω τὸ διδά-  
 σκειν.

&lt;Ξε&gt;

Ξδ'

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

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Ὅταν αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα τὴν ἑαυτῶν οἶα τις συνιστῶσι κα-  
 τάστασιν, ἡ περιττὸν ἂν εἴη τῆς θύραθεν δεῖσθαι συστάσεως.  
 ὁ καλὸς δὲ καγαθὸς τῶν βασιλικῶν προκαθήμενος ὄλβων,  
 5 ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτεῖ τῶν καλῶν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦτο, τὸ περιττὸν ἐν ἡγεῖται τῶν ἀναγκαίων· νυττόμενον  
 γὰρ σε περὶ πρόνοιαν ἐμὴν οἴκοθεν προσνύττει δὴ καὶ αὐτός.

64. 5 θόρυβου LPdTheil

65. 4 βασιλικῶν – ὄλβων: cf. supra ep. 63, 12-13 σέ μοι χρᾶ... παρ' ᾧ  
 τὰ τῶν βασιλέως ὄλβων πηδάλια

## 64. To the Emperor

I have spent a long time teaching children, your imperial  
 majesty, and from this accursed service I have had no benefit at  
 all. Because what benefit could one gain from vanity or how  
 could tranquility ever from confusion, or something straight  
 from the crooked? For this reason, I have become weary of teach-  
 ing and have decided to be set free from it, yet nothing is easy  
 without your agreement. I ask therefore, your majesty, one of  
 the two: release from service or an allowance for food from the  
 imperial *prytaneion* so that I can teach poor students and the  
 profit may be transferred to your imperial soul. Otherwise, let  
 teaching go to its ruin.

## 65. To the Grand Logothete Metochites

When the circumstances speak of themselves as happens in this  
 case, ■ testimony from the outside would be superfluous. The  
 good and honourable president of the imperial treasury, who  
 truly excels in all other good qualities, in this instance proves to  
 be superior also, since he considers what appears superfluous  
 to be necessary in this situation. You were prompted to act on  
 my behalf on your own, but the president of the imperial treas-  
 ury prompts you as well to help me.

Ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν τοιῷδε τυγχάνοντι πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ γίγνοιτο. σοὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῇ φύσει τί τις ἀντάξιον εὐξαι-  
 10 ᾶν τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προμηθείας; εἰ δὲ καὶ μήπω πρὸς ἔργον  
 ἐκβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαίη γ' ἄν· ἄριστος γὰρ οἰωνὸς ἡ τοῦ βα-  
 σιλέως κατάνευσις ἢ τε σὴ φύσις καὶ τέχνη περὶ τὴν ἀρίστην  
 τῶν πραγμάτων διαίτησιν. ἔπει γοῦν οὕτω μὲν ἔχεις προ-  
 νοίας, οὕτω δὲ πειθῶ περισκιρτᾷ σου τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥς τις  
 15 ἀηδῶν δρυὸς ἐφεζομένη πετῆλῳ, τοῦ κρείττονος θήγοντος,  
 πεπείσεται μὲν αὐτῇ βασιλεύς, ἀφαιρεθήσεται δέ μοι πενία  
 τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἰγήσεται δὲ τὰ χεῖρῳ καὶ τὰ βελτίῳ περισκιρ-  
 τήσῃ. σοὶ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείας εἰς αἰῶνας  
 αἰῶνων ἀπόλαυσις.

&lt;ξ&gt;

Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οἷά με δρῶσιν οἱ παιδεύειν τὰ φίλτατα σφόδρα λίαν κατα-  
 ναγκάζοντες, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πορίζοντες. καὶ μὴν  
 Μωσέως μὲν σιωπῶντος οἷά μεγαβοῶντος ἀκούει Θεὸς καὶ

14-15 ὥς τις — πετῆλῳ: cf. Schol. in Euripidem 1514 (I, 401 Schwartz)  
 ἀπηχεῖ δρυὸς πετάλοις ἐφεζομένη

11 ἐκβέβηκε LPdTheil || 15 πετῆλῳ ex πετάλῳ corr P

66. 4 μεταβοῶντος LPdTheil

A person endowed with such qualities would receive many blessings from God. But for you and for your character what kind of prayer could be offered that would be worth as much as your care towards me? Even though your help has not yet been extended, nevertheless it should arrive. Because the assent of the Emperor is a good sign along with your disposition and skill to settle matters in an excellent way. Since you are willing to act on my behalf and your words are most compelling, just as those of a nightingale sitting on a leaf of an oak tree, the Emperor with the help of the almighty will be convinced, and then the poverty which sits on my head will be taken away, the worst will have passed, and better times will come. And you in return for all this shall enjoy the kingdom of God for all eternity.

## 66. To the same

What are they doing to me, those who force me to the utmost to educate their dearest children, without providing me with the necessities of life? Moses may have kept silent, but God heard

5 τί βοῶς πρὸς με; φησὶν· ἔμοῦ δὲ Στεντόρειον κράζοντος οὐδ'  
ἔχνος ἤχοῦς ἑξακούεται οὐδὲ γρῦ τὸ παράπαν τις ἀπο-  
κρίνεται. εἴτ' ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτα, ὦ δίκη καὶ παιδεία καὶ τῶν  
καλῶν ἔρασταί, τοὺς μὲν ἐβελοκωφεῖν, ἐμὲ δ' ἥσθαι ἀγέρα-  
στον καὶ γε μὴν ἄσιτα κἀδώρητα φορμίζειν μέλη; ἢ φαίη τις  
10 ἂν ἀνεκτά; ἀλλ' ἀντιφθέγγαιτ' ἂν Μωυσῆς μὴ φιμοῦν βοῶν  
ἀλοῶντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Ἡσαΐας ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, δεῖν  
λέγων καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τὸν δουλεύοντα. οἱ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ-  
τι μαθόντες, προῖκα δουλεύειν οὐ προαιρούμενοι, προῖκά με  
παιδεύειν αἰροῦνται.

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15 Καὶ μὴν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ σκιμπόδων ἱερῶν προκαθέζονται  
κάπτι κλινῶν ἐλεφαντίνων καὶ Μιλησίων στρωμάτων ἀνα-  
τάδην καθεύδουσιν, εἴτα, διυπνισθέντων δέ, θεραπεία συχνή  
περίσταται, σιτώνων τε | καὶ οἰνώνων προνοηταί, οἱ μὲν λό-  
γους ἀποδιδόντες προσόδων, οἱ δ' ἀπίασι τὰς ἀποθήκας  
20 ἔμπλήσοντες· αἱ δὲ στενοῦνται μὲν ὥστε καὶ διεσπᾶσθαι  
μικροῦ, ἐμοὶ δὲ στενὴ καὶ λεία γαστήρ καὶ λεπτὴ χειρὶ πόδα  
πιέζω παχύν, κύλιξ δὲ οἶα

χείλη μὲν τ' ἐδίηεν, ὑπερφῆν δ' οὐκ ἐδίηεν,  
καὶ τὸ λαρυγγίζειν περὶ προσφιδῶν, πρόσσος δὲ οὐδα-

66. 5 τί βοῶς πρὸς με: Ex. 14:15 || Στεντόρειον κράζοντος: cf. Karathanasis 30 || 9 ἄσιτα — μέλη: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 49-50 || 10-11 μὴ φιμοῦν — ἀλοῶντα: Deut. 25:4; I Cor. 9: 9 || 12 φαγεῖν — δουλεύοντα: cf. Is. 65:13 οἱ δουλεύοντές μοι φάγονται || 16 Μιλησίων στρωμάτων: cf. Aristoph. Ran. 544 ἐν στρώμασιν Μιλησίοις || 21-22 λεπτῇ — παχύν: Hesiod. Op. 497 || 23 χείλη — ἐδίηεν: Hom. Il. 22, 495; cf. Apostol. 18, 21a (CPG II 723); Hotop 255

23 ἐδίηεν] sic P

him as if he was shouting at the top of his voice and said to him “why do you cry to me?”. But I call with a voice like Stentor’s and yet I hear neither a faint echo nor the smallest syllable as ■ response. Is it acceptable then, oh justice, scholarship, and lovers of moral beauty that some shut their ears deliberately while I sit unpaid “making melodies that bring neither food nor feed”? Or could someone say that it is acceptable? Yet Moses will tell the opposite “you shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading on the grain”, and in addition the loud-voiced Isaiah who says that the servant should eat and drink. But they – I do not understand them – do not like to work without pay, and yet they opt that I should teach for nothing.

On the other hand, these same people sit on sacred couches and sleep stretched upon ivory beds and Milesian mattresses, and when they wake up they are surrounded by ■ crowd of servants, supervisors of their cornfields and wine-cellars, who render the accounts of their profits, and others who go to fill full their storehouses, which have no more room and are almost bursting. My belly on the contrary is narrow and flat, “and with a shrunk hand I chafe a swollen foot”,<sup>23</sup> and my cup is such that “his lips he wetteth, but his palate he wetteth not”.<sup>24</sup> And I may loudly declaim poetic meters, but profits come from nowhere.

23. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, tr. H.G. Evelyn-White, 39.

24. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, II, 491.

25 μοῦ. καὶ τῷ λύκῳ τῆς παροιμίας ἔοικα, μάτην χαίνων καὶ  
κατὰ τοὺς γύπας ἀέρα ἐγκυμονῶν.

Ἄλλ' εὖ ποιούντων τῶν εὐπορούντων εὖ γ' ἂν ἔχοι καμοί·  
εἰ δ' οὖν, ποταμῶν ἄνω.

<ΞΞ>

ΞΞ' Τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέος

Ὅφειλουσι μὲν πατράσι υἱεῖς, ἐπειδὴν γήραος ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν  
ἀμείψωσι, τροφεῖα, ὀφείλουσι δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ παιδευταῖς  
φοιτηταῖς ἀμοιβὰς ἐκτίνειν ἀξίας, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκωσι  
5 τύχης, ἧς ἤκες αὐτός. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν σὺ μὲν ἥψω τῆς κρείτ-  
τονος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς χείρονος, ἀντισηκοῦν δεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ  
λόφονα. καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὐχαὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἄρμα  
τῆς τύχης τῆς βαλβίδος ἐξήλασας, μέχρι νύσσης ἐξ οὐρίων  
εὐθυδρομεῖν· εἷς δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦ παιδευτοῦ κηδόμενος ἡνιόχου  
10 καὶ μὴ τὰ Μυρτίλου παθεῖν συγχωρῶν. ἔστι δὲ ῥᾶστον  
εὐδαιμονίζειν τὸν παιδευτὴν, ἥνπερ ἢ βουλομένῳ σοι καλῶς

25 λύκῳ — χαίνων: cf. ad ep. 53, 9-10 || 26 τοὺς γύπας — ἐγκυμονῶν: cf. Ael. Nat. anim. II, 46 (55, 20 Hercher) || 28 ποταμῶν ἄνω: cf. Zenob. 2, 56 (CPG I 47); Diogen. I, 27 (CPG 185); Greg. Cypr. 1, 28 (CPG II 96); Karathanasis 99; Salzmann 90

67. 2-3 γήραος — ἀμείψωσι: cf. Hom. Od. 23, 212 γήραος οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι || 10 τὰ Μυρτίλου παθεῖν: cf. Eust. Comm. II. I, 281, 10 sq. (van der Valk)

1 κυρίου LPdTheil || 8 ἐξουρίων P

So like the proverbial wolf I am gaping in the air and like the vultures I become pregnant with air.

But if the well-to-do would help out, I would also do well, otherwise, "rivers would run backwards".

67. To the son of Patriarch Ioannes Glykys

Sons ought to pay their fathers when the latter pass the threshold of old age, for bringing them up, and no less ought students to pay their teachers a worthy compensation, especially when they have been favoured by good fortune like you. But since you took hold of good fortune and I the worse, we must support each other to attain the best. For my part I shall pray for you that you may run the magnificent chariot of your good fortune a straight course with a fair wind from start to finish of the race. As for you, you should take care of your teacher, the charioteer, and not let him suffer the fate of Myrtilos. It is easy to make your teacher happy if you wish to use your power for the good. Any-

15 κεχρησθαι τῷ δύνασθαι· ὅτι γὰρ βούλησίς τε καὶ δύναμις,  
 ῥᾶσθ' ἔποιτ' ἂν ἔργα, εὐκλείζοντα μὲν τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα,  
 20 ὀλβίζοντα δὲ τὸν εὖ πάσχοντα· ὅτι δ' ἀμφοτέρων θάτερον  
 λείπεται, δυσχερές ἐστι τὸ κατόρθωμα. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
 βουλήσεως εὖ καὶ δυνάμεως ἔχεις, (καὶ εἴης ἐσαεὶ μείζονος  
 25 ἔχων, καί, τῶν δυνάμεων ἔφορε), εἰσὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ τρόποι  
 πλείους καὶ πόροι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίας ὑπόθεσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς νῦν  
 καὶ μοι λόγος, διέξειμι. ἔρως ἐκάστῳ σφοδρὸς γαίης φίλης  
 30 πατρίδος, ὅσον ἂν, εἴ τις νεὺς ἐξάπτοι κελήτιον, ὁτὲ μὲν σῶζον  
 τὴν ναῦν, ὁτὲ δὲ παρ' ἐκείνης σφίζόμενον. τοῦτ' ὁ πάθος πῶς  
 δοκεῖς τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἐνεῖναι μοι; ὁπότε δὴ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ  
 τὴν Ἰρτάκου προσηγορίαν ἔσχον ἑπωνυμίαν. ἀμέλει τοι  
 35 περικαομένῳ μοι τῆς πατρίδος ἔδοξεν | ἔρωτος αὐτῆς ψυχα-  
 γωγία σφοδροῦ, τῶν ἐπ' ὄρους Κυζίκου μονυδρίων ἰδρυμένων  
 πολλῶν ἐνὸς ἐγκρατῆ καταστῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν, ἐφ' ὅσον οὖν τῇ  
 πατρίδι τὴν σχέσιν ἀφοσιοῦν, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ θεῖον σκοπόν, ὃν  
 40 ἴσως ἂν τις μαθὼν κρίνοι θεοφιλῆ. δόξαν οὖν ἡττησάμην μὲν  
 τὸν πατριάρχην ἐγώ, ὁ δ', οἷος ἐστί, ταχύς, εὐθύς περὶ τὰ  
 45 καλὰ, καὶ κατένευσε κεφαλῇ καὶ καιρὸν βραχὺν ὠρίσατο  
 σκέμματι.

Τὸ τοίνυν ἐντεῦθεν σὸν ἔργον γένοιτ' ἂν, τοῦ συλλογισμοῦς  
 ἐπιστημονικοῦς δυναμένου, τὸ σκέμμα συναγαγεῖν εἰς συμ-  
 πέρασμα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἡγήση δέον ἀλλοτρίου μὲν τῶν

one who possesses the will and the power can easily carry out  
 deeds which would bring honour to the benefactor and wealth  
 to the recipient. But if one of the two is missing, success is diffi-  
 cult to attain. But since you possess the good will and the power  
 also – may you enjoy for ever a still greater power, yes, you,  
 guardian of [imperial?] power –, there are several means and  
 ways to be truly happy about which I am going to speak now.  
 Strong love for the fatherland burns in everyone and the bond  
 is similar to a boat attached to a ship, which at times rescues the  
 ship and at others is rescued by it. My passion for the fatherland  
 is indeed stronger than anyone's – you can imagine – and it is  
 for this reason that I have taken the family name of Hyrtakos.  
 At any rate, being consumed by passion for the fatherland, I  
 thought that a relief for my love would be to become the holder  
 of one of the many small monasteries established on the moun-  
 tain of Kyzikos, so that on the one hand I can strengthen my  
 bond to the fatherland, and on the other dedicate myself to a  
 sacred purpose, which someone who hears it can perhaps judge  
 as dear to God. I also asked the Patriarch about my decision and  
 he, being swift and prompt for a good cause, consented and  
 ruled within a short time to examine the plan.

The matters that lay ahead are work for you, who is compe-  
 tent in logical argumentation and can bring the plan to comple-  
 tion. Indeed, you shall not consider proper that strangers are

19-20 γαίης – πατρίδος: cf. Hom. Od. 10, 49 γαίης ἄπο πατρίδος

12 κεχρησθαι P || 20 νεὺς ἐξάπτοι ex ἐξάπτοι νεὺς corr P || 26 ὁσονοῦν P

- 35 πατριαρχικῶν γερῶν ἀξιούσθαι, σοὶ δὲ τὸν παιδευτὴν οἶον  
 ἦσθαι ἀγέραστον, ἄλγεα θυμῷ πέσσοντα. μὴ σὺ τοῦτό γε,  
 σοφωτάτῃ καὶ φιλάτῃ ψυχῇ. εἴ γ' οὖν βούλει, φήσω μὲν ἐγώ,  
 σὺ δὲ πέρανον τὸ ζητούμενον, τριῶν μονυδρίων εἰρησομένων,  
 40 ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ τιμίου ἀρχιστρατήγου τῶν νοερῶν καὶ θείων δυ-  
 νάμεων, ὃς ἐπικεκλημένος Ἀσώματος περιφρουρῶν ἐστὶ τοὺς  
 ἐν σώμασιν, ἄτερου δὲ τοῦ σεπτοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωρ-  
 γίου, ὃ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀφῆκε Σγουρόπουλός τις, δεικνὺς ὅση  
 τις σχέσις ἦν τᾶνδρι πρὸς τὸν μάρτυρα, καὶ τρίτου τοῦ τὴν  
 45 Καρυδίου σχόντος ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐπιτηδείου μὲν τοῦ χωρίου  
 πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν, ἄλλως δὲ πειραταῖς εὐεπιβουλεύτου, κει-  
 μένου παρ' αἰγιαλῆτιν ἀκτὴν· οὗς εὐχαὶ πατριαρχικαὶ κατὰ-  
 περ ὧδαί πάλαι Μωσαϊκαὶ θαλάττης ἔργον Ἑλλησποντιάδος  
 ἐργάσαιντο. οἶδα μὲν, οἶδα τὸν πατριάρχην ἄσμενον νιεῖ φιλ-  
 τάτῃ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, σὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ παιδευτῇ.

&lt;Ξη&gt;

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν καὶ τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα ἀντευποιεῖν Ἡσίοδος  
 ὑποτίθεται. ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοῦντα μὲν σε φιλῶ, εὖ δέ με ποιοῦντα

36 ἄλγεα – πέσσοντα: cf. Hom. Od. 12, 427 φέρων ἐμῷ ἄλγεα θυμῷ

42 Σγουρόπουλος LPdTheil

68. 2 Τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν: Hesiod. Op. 353

deemed worthy of the patriarchal rewards and your teacher sits without a gift, his heart sunk in sorrow. None of that to me from you, wisest and dearest soul. If you wish, I will tell you and you can accomplish the request. Of the three small monasteries under consideration, one is dedicated to the honourable Archistrategos of the spiritual and divine host, called Asomatos, being a patron saint of those in the flesh, another is devoted to the holy great martyr Georgios, named thus by a certain Sgouropoulos, thereby indicating his relation (by name) to the Martyr, and the third is called by the surname Karydion, its location being appropriate for withdrawal from the world, but otherwise easily attacked by pirates as it is situated on a remote coast – but may the prayers of the Patriarch, like the psalms of Moses in the past, drown them in the Hellespont. I know, I know well that the Patriarch will gladly grant the favour to his beloved son, and you will in turn give it to your teacher.

## 68. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

Be friends with the friendly and benefit the benefactor, suggests Hesiod. You love me and I also love you, but the benefit you be-

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἀντευποιεῖν. οὐκοῦν ἀντευποιήσῃ Θεός, παρ'  
 5 οὗ τὸ πᾶν σοι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἡμῖν χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ πᾶν  
 τῶν ἀμοιβῶν ἀντιχορηγεῖσθαι.

<ΞΘ>

Ἀποκαύκῳ παρακοιμωμένῳ

Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι  
 Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενὸς  
 ἑμᾶς γέγραπται,

p. 149

5 προοίμιον ὕμνου πρὸς Ἀγησίδαμον Πινδάρῳ τῷ σοφῷ  
 λελυρώδηται· ἐπαγγειλάμενος γὰρ ὕμνον ἔκειναι, εἴθ', ἢ  
 ὥσπερ ἐπιλησάμενος αὐθὺς τε μνήμης γενόμενος, πρὸς Μελ-  
 πομένην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Μοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς λύραν μέλποντας  
 10 ὕμνωδους ἀναγνῶναι οἱ φησί, ποῖ τῆς αὐτοῦ φρενὸς Ἀγησι-  
 δαμος γέγραπται. ὡς γὰρ τρία μέρη φασὶν ἐνεῖναι τῇ ψυχῇ,  
 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τρία ταῦτ' ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ φρενί, μνη-  
 μονικόν, φανταστικόν καὶ δοξαστικόν.

Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων φιλοσοφητέον ἔστι Πινδάρῳ. ἐγὼ  
 δὲ τὸν ἑμὸν λαμπρὸν ἀριστέα, τὸν ἀπαράμιλλον λέγω πα-

#### 68. 4 ἀντευποίη LPdTheil

69. 2-4 Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν — γέγραπται: Pind. Olymp. 10, 1 sq. ||  
 11-12 μνημονικόν — δοξαστικόν: cf. Arii Dydimi fr. Phys. 15 (H. Diels Dox.  
 Gr. 456, 1-3) ὑπάρχει δὲ τινα καὶ σύνθετον αἰσθησιν, ἐν ᾗ τό τε φανταστικόν  
 πᾶν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ μνημονευτικόν καὶ τὸ δοξαστικόν

stowed on me I could not reciprocate. Therefore may God repay  
 you for your beneficence, because He supplied you with the  
 means to benefit me and in return for your benefaction-he may  
 offer you the entire reward.

#### 69. To the Parakoimomenos Apokaukos

“Read me the name of the  
 Olympic victor, the son of  
 Archestratos, where it has  
 been written in my mind”,<sup>25</sup>

this *prooimion* of the hymn dedicated to Hagesidamos has been  
 composed by the wise Pindar. He had promised him a hymn,  
 then he forgot his promise and when he remembered it again,  
 he called upon his Muse Melpomene and the singers who sing  
 to the lyre to tell him where Hagesidamos was registered in his  
 mind. They say the soul is divided to three parts and in the same  
 way they say that the mind is composed of three parts: memory,  
 imagination, and forming opinions.

But let Pindar reason about these matters as a philosopher.  
 As for me, I greet my magnificent prince, the unrivalled I say

25. *The Odes of Pindar*, tr. J. Sandys, 111.

- 15 ρακοιμώμενον, τὸν χρυσοῦν τὸν νοῦν, τὸν χρηστὸν τὴν ψυχὴν,  
τὸν εὐθὴ τὴν καρδίαν, μὴ ὅτι γε τῇ τῆς φρενὸς τριμερεῖα, ὅτι  
μὴ καὶ ὅλη ψυχῇ καὶ νῷ καὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ παρόντα δεξιούμαι  
δόξῃ καὶ ἀπόντα φαντάζομαι καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ παντός σύν-  
ειμι. καὶ ὅποιδῆποτε γῆς ἢ διατρίβων οὐκ ἔσθ' ὁπότε μοι  
20 ἔξω τοῦ μνήμονος γέγραπται, οὐχ ἥριστα μέντοι καὶ καιρῶν  
ἐκείνων μεμνημένῳ, καθ' οὓς ἦν μὲν ἐγὼ παιδευτής, ἐφοίτων  
δὲ συγχοὶ παιδείας μεταληφόμενοι, ὧν ἦν τὰ πρῶτα παρα-  
κοιμώμενος εὐφυῖα τε φύσεως καὶ σπουδῇ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιστήμαι  
τὸ κράτος ἔχουσιν. ἥδη δ' ἐς μειράκια παραγγεῖλας οὐ καὶ  
25 τὸ φρονεῖν εἶχε κατὰ μειράκια, ἀλλ' ἦν στάσιμον καὶ πρεσβυ-  
τικόν, εὐσταθὲς καὶ γενναῖον καὶ σῶφρον καὶ διδασκαλικὸν  
ἀντικρυς, ὁπότε δὴ καὶ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν μετιὼν ῥαψωδίαν οὕτω  
τοὶ ῥᾶον διὰ στόματος προύφερεν, ὥς εἰ πλαξὶν ἂν τοῦ μνή-  
μονος ἐγκεκολαμμένην ἐκ παιδὸς εἶχε τοῖς στήθεσι, καταπε-  
30 ρεῖ τὴν προπαιδείαν τῶν στοιχείων ἀνάγραπτον. δεῖσαν δὲ  
καὶ ποτε μικρόν τι τοὺς ἀπὸ παιδείας πόνους ῥαστώνῃ δοῦναι,  
οὐ θεάτροις προσεῖχεν, οὐχ ἵπποδρόμοις οὐδὲ δημοκοπίας  
καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἑορταῖς δὲ καὶ ταύταις ἱεραῖς ἐνεσχόλαζεν,  
ἥττον δὲ τι καὶ βασιλείοις, ὅσον μόνον βασιλεῦσι γνωρίζε-  
35 σθαι, καὶ τότε μετ' ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ σεμνοῦ παραστήματος οἶον

16 εὐθὴ — καρδίαν: cf. Prov. 27: 21 || 18-19 τῇ μνήμῃ — σύνειμι: cf. Synes.  
ep. 149 (p. 267, 10 Garzya) Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸν ἐπιδημεῖς τῇ μνήμῃ || 25-26  
στάσιμον — πρεσβυτικόν: cf. Mich. Psell. Orat. funebr. in patriarch. Const.  
Leichudem II, 8 (96, 23-24 Polemis) πρεσβυτικὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ἥθος καὶ  
στάσιμον

18 διαπαντός P || 20 οὐχ ἥριστα P || 34 μόλις (pro μόνον) LPdTheil

Parakoimomenos, the precious mind, the kind soul, the upright  
in heart, not only through the three parts of my mind, but also  
with all my soul, mind, and heart [I greet him] as if he were pres-  
ent in my thoughts and though absent, lives ever-present in my  
memory. And no matter where he is residing, I can never get him  
out of my mind – not the least recalling the period I was teach-  
ing, when many students came to me to be taught and among  
them the first who excelled as a genius and in his earnestness  
was the Parakoimomenos, qualities from which the sciences de-  
rive their strength. By the time he became an adolescent, he no  
more had the frame of mind of an adolescent, but that of a stable  
and adult man, clearly steadfast, noble, of sound mind and in-  
clined for instruction at the same time. When he was reading  
the Homeric rhapsodies, he would recite them with such ease  
that it was as if they had been engraved in his memory from his  
childhood years, or had learned them by heart as the rudiments  
of the alphabet. And when at some time the need arose to obtain  
a little respite from the toils of learning, he did not turn to the  
theaters, the hippodrome, or to crowds and merriment, but in-  
stead frequented sacred festivities. He went to the imperial court  
only to become known by the Emperor and then in a dignified



δή τινος· ἀμέλει καὶ δι' εὐχῶν πᾶσιν ἤγετο, πατράσι, παι-  
 δευταῖς, συγγενέσιν, ἑταίροις καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι τῶν καλῶν ἐρα-  
 σταί. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν οὐκ ἡμοίρηκε καὶ χρόνος  
 οὐπιὼν οἷός τις τὸν ἀνδρα συνίστησι.

40 Τὸν οὖν οὕτω μὲν ἔχοντα φύσεως, οὕτω δὲ γνώμης, οὕτω  
 δ' ἡθῶν καὶ τρόπων εὐγενῶν πῶς ἂν τις μνήμονος ἔξω τιθείη;  
 καὶ τιθεὶς δὲ πῶς οὐ δικαίως κρίνοιτ' ἂν τὸν δίκαιον ἀδικεῖν;  
 ἔγωγε μὲν, οὐδέσιν ἄλλοις ἀξίοις τὸν τηλικούτον ἰδῶροις  
 ἔχων δωρήσασθαι, ὃ γ' ἔχω μόνον, εὐχαῖς ἐγκαρδίους δωροῦ-  
 45 μαι· καί, φιλόσοφος ὢν αὐτός, οὐκ ἐπιλήσαιτ' ἂν μου ποτε,  
 τοῦτο μὲν παιδευτοῦ, τοῦτο δ' ἐρεῖν καὶ φίλου θαρρῶ καὶ δε-  
 ομένου τυγχάνοντος.

<ο'>

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Καὶ γραῦς μεμαθηκυῖα συκοφαγεῖν καὶ κύων εἰωθυῖα σκυτο-  
 τραγεῖν ἄμφω χαλεπῶ, παροιμίαι φασίν. ἐγὼ δέ, βίῳ καὶ  
 βίᾳ δακνόμενος, καὶ γραδὸς καὶ κυνὸς χαλεπώτερός τε καὶ  
 5 φορτικώτερος οἶδα γιγνόμενος, καίτοι σιωπᾶν ἤρημένος καὶ  
 μὴ πράγματά τῃ παρέχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκη, φασίν, οὐδὲ θεοὶ  
 μάχονται, καὶ πάλιν, στρεπταὶ δέ τε καὶ φρένες ἐσθλῶν,

70. 2 γραῦς – συκοφαγεῖν: locum non inveni || κύων – σκυτοτραγεῖν:  
 cf. Alciphr. III, ep. 11, 4 (71, 7 Schepers) οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγεῖν μα-  
 θούσα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται; Greg. Cypr. 4, 74 (CPG II 126); Apostol. 13,  
 49 (CPG II 587) οὐδὲ κύων παύσαιτ' ἂν ἅπαξ σκυτοτραγεῖν || 6-7 ἀνάγκη –  
 μάχονται: cf. adn. ad ep. 63, 6 || 7 στρεπταὶ – ἐσθλῶν: Hom. II. 15, 203

and solemn appearance. Naturally he was guided by the prayers  
 of all, fathers, teachers, relatives, colleagues, and other lovers of  
 virtue. And indeed, he proved worthy of their prayers and the  
 time yet to come showed what kind of man he was.

How then can one get out of his mind a man of such a char-  
 acter and disposition, of such morals and kind manners? And if  
 he did, would he not be justly condemned for having wronged a  
 righteous man? Having no other gifts worthy of this man to  
 offer, I extend to him the only thing I have, my hearty wishes.  
 And he, being himself a philosopher, would not forget me, not  
 only as his teacher but, I dare say, as also a friend who happens  
 to be in need.

## 70. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

The proverbs say it is a bad thing for both the old woman who  
 has learned to eat dry figs and the bitch that became accustomed  
 to gnaw leather. But I am in a worse situation and more burden-  
 some than the old woman and the bitch, this I know quite well,  
 being troubled by life and injustice although I had chosen to  
 keep silent and not to create problems to anyone. But as they  
 say, "against necessity not even the gods make war" and again

μεταβαλὼν τοῖς γέ μοι δοκοῦσι καλοῖς ἀντιπερίσταμαι καὶ  
 παρεῖς σιωπᾶν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης λέγειν βιάζομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν  
 10 εἰ δυναίμην, βουλοίμην, οὔτ' οὖν, εἰ βουλοίμην, δυναίμην σι-  
 γᾶν, πρὸς γε βίον καὶ βίαν ἀντιπαραταττόμενος, ἄμφο  
 δεινῶ. ἐπεὶ τοι μὴδ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ καρτερός πρὸς δύο, καρκίνον  
 καὶ ὕδραν, ἀντικαθίστατο, βίαιον ἄθλον ἀθλῶν, εἰ μὴ συνῆν  
 τᾶνδρ' ἐσθλῶν συλλήπτωρ Ἰόλεως. τί νι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ χρῆσαιμην συλ-  
 15 λήπτωρι πρὸς ἄττ' ἀντιπαλαίειν ἀγών μοι, ὅτι μὴ Θεῷ σω-  
 τῇρι καὶ σοὶ συνεργῶ;

Ἔοικε μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος παλιμβόλῳ καρκίνῳ πλαγίως βα-  
 δίζοντι, ἡ βία δ' ἀντικρυς ὕδρα πολυκεφάλῳ, ὅσῳ τεμνομένη  
 τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἃς αἰτίας δεινῶν ὁ χρόνος ἐκφύει, τοσοῦτω  
 20 πλείους καὶ χεῖρους ἀπροόπτως ἀναδιδούσῃ· ἃς οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 ἀποτέμῃ τελῶς ὅτι μὴ Θεὸς ὁ κραταῖος ἀλεξίκακος, πρό-  
 τερον μὲν ἀνελὼν ὡς καρκίνον τὸν λαιῶς πως κινούμενον βίον,  
 εἴτ', ἀφείς, τὴν βίαν, ὕδραν ἀνεπικούρητον, εὐκαταγώνιστον  
 οὖσαν πρὸς παντελῇ δειροτόμησιν.

25 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ ταλαντεύμενος καὶ πρὸς  
 ἑκατέραν ἀμφιρρεπῆς ὦν πλάστιγγα, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκης, τὴν

12 μὴδ' Ἡρακλῆς — δύο: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 3 || 14 συλλήπτωρ Ἰόλεως: cf. Synes. ep. 150 (268, 12-13 Garzya) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰόλεω συμμάχου καὶ παραστάτου; Greg. Naz. ep. 156 (II 47, 1 Gallay) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτος ἦν [ὁ Ἡρακλῆς], εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰόλαον εἶχε συναγωνιζόμενον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἰδρας μάλιστα || 25 ἐν τρυτάνῃ ταλαντεύμενος: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Mich. Gabr. ep. 25 (53, 8-9 Fatouros) ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντεύων

22 ὡς] supra scr P || 22 βίον] in marg P || 23 βίαν] in marg P || 24 παντελῇ] supra scr P

“the hearts of the good may be turned”,<sup>26</sup> I therefore changed my attitude towards what seemed to me good and thus gave up my silence, driven by necessity to speak. Because neither if I could would I, nor if I wished could I keep silent, since I stand against life and injustice, which are both terrible. Yet not even the mighty Heracles would have been a match for two, the Karkinos and Hydra, in his fierce struggle, had he not had the help of Iolaos. But to whom could I turn for help in the struggle I carry on if I am not supported by God the savior and you?

Life is then like the unstable crab which walks sideways, and injustice is clearly like the many-headed Hydra, whose heads when chopped increase in number and become even worse unexpectedly multiplied — time propagates them as the cause of suffering. No one could cut them off completely unless the mighty God, warding off all evil, beforehand wipes out the life which moves like the crab sideways, and in this manner left with the injustice alone, he cuts the throat entirely of the helpless and easily subjugated Hydra.

As for myself I sway back and forth as if on a pair of scales, inclining both ways on the balance, one time towards need, the other towards shame, unable to choose which of the two will pre-

26. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, II, 121.

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- δ' αἰδοῦς, οὐκ ἔχω τῆς νικώσης ὁποτέρᾳ παραχωρήσασθαι· εἰ  
 μὲν γὰρ θατέρᾳ, πρὸς ἀνθολκὴν ἄτερᾳ κατὰγει, ἣν δ' αὖ  
 ἄτερᾳ, θατέρᾳ ταὐτὸ πάλιν. καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἑκατέρᾳ πρὸς  
 30 στάθμην εὐθύτητος ταλαντεύσασθαι· θέλω θεῖναι χάριν τῇ τῆς  
 αἰδοῦς; ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀνθέλκει· αἰροῦμαι ταύτῃ χαρί-  
 σασθαι; καὶ κείνην ἀπάγχουσιν ὑφορῶμαι. ἐν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς  
 ἐξίσωσιν ῥέπον, ἣν δ' τοῦ ζυγοῦ μέσος ἐφαστῶς | ἐπιβάτης  
 ὥσπερ τις ἥνιοχος ἄρματος πειθοῖ προτρέψῃ τὴν στάθμην,  
 35 συμβιβάσας μὲν τὴν ἀνάγκην αἰδοῖ, δούς δὲ τὴν δέησιν  
 πειθοῖ. πειθὼ δὲ τῇ χρεῖα γένοιτ' ἂν πάροχος· ὁ γὰρ τοι χρό-  
 νος κατερρίκνωσέ μου θοιμάτια θέρους δ' ἔτι κρατοῦντος,  
 σχολῇ γε τῇ χειμῶνος δριμύτητι, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀφιζόμενος  
 ἐτοιμάσει μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν φαρέτραν, θήξας δὲ στιλβώσῃ τὰ  
 40 βέλη — οἷσθα τίνα τὰ βέλη —, ἐντείνας δὲ τὸ τόξον ἀνέμοις Θρη-  
 κίοις, τοξόταις ἑοικόσιν εὐστόχοις, τῶν βελῶν πιστεύσει τὴν  
 ἄφεσιν ὥστε δὴ βάλλειν οὐς ἔξεστι. καὶ δεῖ δὴ προευντρεπίσαι  
 τὰ τῶν ὅπλων πρὸς τὴν συμβολὴν ἀμυντήρια  
 δέρματα λαχνήεντα τὰ τε φρίκην ἀλεείνει,  
 45 θώρακα χειμερίων νιφάδων ἀλεωρῆς τ' ἄλλαρ,  
 ὥς μὴ ἴς Βορέαο δριμὺ διὰ χρωτὸς ἄησιν.  
 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χειμῶνος. ἔργα δὲ νυνὶ φθινοπώρου, Διο-  
 νυσίων ὄργια καὶ βακχεύματα οἰνάδων τε τρυγητοὶ καὶ  
 βρασμοὶ Διονύσου ψοφώδεις καὶ κεραμίων καὶ πίθων παρα-

44-46 δέρματα — ἄησιν: cf. ep. 56, 39-41

29 θατέρᾳ ταὐτὸ πάλιν ex ταὐτὸ πάλιν θατέρᾳ corr P || 41 εὐστόχως  
 LPdTheil || 45 χειμερίων LPdTheil

vail. Because if I tip the one side, the other pulls in the contrary direction downwards, and again the same happens with the other when I try the other side. It is not possible to balance the two in a straight line. I want to place more weight on shame, then the side of need draws in the other direction. I choose to favour this one? Then I see the other trying to strangle me. I consider then only one possibility for balance, namely if the marker who stands like a charioteer in the middle of the weighing scale would settle the weighing with the art of persuasion, reconciling need with shame, making my petition more convincing. Persuasiveness like a bystander would help to meet my needs.

Time has shriveled my clothes and it is yet summer season. It will be still worse during the harshness of winter, which will arrive soon and when he will prepare his quiver without delay, sharpening and polishing his arrows — you know what kind of arrows — stretching his bow and letting the shooting to the Thracian winds, which are like well-aimed archers who can hit the mark and shoot at the enemy. Before the attack we must then make preparations for the defensive weapons: Shaggy hide that keeps away the bitter cold, an armor, a shelter and defense against winter snowflakes, so that the power of the north wind does not come through the skin.

But these are the exploits of winter. At this time we have the deeds of autumn, namely the rites of Dionysus, the bacchic revelries of the vine, the grape-gathering, the noisy fermentation of the new wine, the preparation of the earthenware and of the wine-jars, the other cares and pursuits, which are for the grand

- 50 σκευαὶ καὶ φροντίδες ἄλλαι καὶ μέριμναι, μείζους μὲν μείζουσι,  
μείουσι δὲ μείους, πρὸς ᾧ πτοεῖται τῶνθρώπινον. καὶ τοῖς  
μηδὲν ἔχουσι τὸ περιττόν ἐστι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν, πλεόν τῶν  
ἔχόντων φροντίζουσιν, οὗ δὴ κόμματος εἰς τυγχάνων εἰμί.  
ἀλλὰ βαβαὶ προνοίας Θεοῦ, ἢ μηδὲ τούτους ἔξω κλείει κη-  
55 δεμονίας· πιστεύει γὰρ πιστοῖς οἰκονόμοις τὰ τούτων, ἵν' ὥσι  
συντελοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἑκάτεροι. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον καινότερόν τε  
καὶ προμηθέστερον, οἱ μηδὲν ἔχοντες διδῶσι πλεόν τοῖς  
ἔχουσι, λαμβάνοντες μὲν ἥττω, ἀντιδιδόντες δὲ μείζω καὶ ἀντ'  
ἐπικήρων ἀτίδια· ὁ πληλίκης ἀντάξιον ἀμοιβῆς, ἄνθρωπον μὲν  
60 ἀνθρώπῳ διδόναι, πένητι πλούσιον, λαμβάνειν δὲ Θεὸν ὀφει-  
λέτην εἰς ἔκτισιν, ἀριδῆλως κηρύττοντα, ὅς ἂν ποιήσῃ τούτων  
ἐνὶ τῶν ἑμῶν ἐλαχίστων ἀδελφῶν, ἔμοι πάντως πεποίηκεν;

&lt;οα&gt;

ο'

## Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ υἱῷ μεγάλου λογοθέτου

- Σὸν ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσόφου, χρήσασθαι μὲν ἀποφάσει πρότε-  
ρον, εἴτ' εὐθὺς μεταβαλόντος καταφάσει καὶ ταύτην ἔργῳ  
συστῆσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὄντως φιλόσοφον, μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ  
5 κρεῖττον ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος. στρεπταὶ γὰρ φρένες ἐσθλῶν ἐπ'

61-62 ὅς ἂν — πεποίηκεν: Matth. 25:40

61 εἰς ἔκτισιν] in marg P

71. 5-6 στρεπταὶ — ἐσθλά: cf. adn. ad ep. 70, 7 || ἐσθλῶν ἐπ' ἐσθλά: Theogn.  
Elegiae I, 35; Lib. ep. 81, 4 (X 82, 17-18 Foerster) ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλά

great and for the lesser small and about which humans are ex-  
cited. But for those that have nothing at all the surplus of cares  
belongs more to them because they are more anxious than the  
wealthy, and I am one of those that belongs to this category. But,  
bless me, the providence of God does not exclude from its care  
even those who are poor, because it entrusts their concerns to  
faithful stewards so that each can be of service to the other. But  
what is even more novel and provident is that those that have  
nothing to offer give more than those that have, receiving from  
them less but offering in return much more, and instead of earthly  
giving eternal. It is indeed worthy of a great reward a man to help  
his fellow man, a rich man the poor man and on account of it to  
receive God as his debtor, who clearly proclaims, "as you did it to  
one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me".

## 71. To Nikephoros Metochites, the son of the Grand Logothete

Your deed is that of a philosopher, that is to have reached a neg-  
ative decision earlier and afterwards changing your mind to a  
positive proposition to put it into action. This is indeed a trait  
of a philosopher, to change a decision from the worse to the bet-  
ter. Because "the heart of the good may be turned to ■ good

- ἔσθλά. οὐδὲ γάρ οὐκέτι σὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν |  
οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὃ τί κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσης. οὐκοῦν τοῦπι  
κεφαλῆς ἀσκητὸν πῖλον, Ἡσιόδῳ πεισθεὶς τῷ σοφῷ, πέπομ-  
φας, ἵν' οὐατα μὴ καταδεύω. ἐγὼ δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ πῖλου τίτι γ' ἀν  
10 ἀξιοχρεῶ χάριτ' ἀνταμειψαίμην; ὅτι μὴ λῶσιν εὐχαῖς, πε-  
ρικεφαλαίας σωτηρίου σοι μνηστευσούσαις, καὶ στέφανον πε-  
ποικιλμένον ἐξ ἀρετῶν, οἶονεὶ κειμήλιόν τι πολύολβον· τὴν  
γάρ τοι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πῆληκα, ἣν Ὅμηρος ὡς χρύσεόν τι  
χρῆμα καὶ μέγιστον ἐκθειάζει, ἑκατὸν πρυλέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαν,  
15 οὐδὲν ἱερὸν ἐγῶμαι ἀλλ' ἡ κυνέην Ἀδου. ἡ σὴ δ' ὄντως Ἀθηνᾶ,  
οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἔνοπλος προῖοῦσα – λῆρος γάρ τοῦτο  
τεράτευμα –, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀκηράτου Θεοῦ σοφίας, ἀψευδῆς καὶ  
ἀθάνατος φρόνησις καὶ οὐράνιος ἐστὶ καὶ αἰώνιος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
πάνοπλος καὶ ἀήττητος, ὀρωμένους καὶ μὴ ὀρωμένους πο-  
20 λεμίους ἀοράτως δυναμένη καταγωνίζεσθαι.

Τοιάνδ' ἱερὰν ἐγὼ σοι, τῷ μῶ καλλινίκῳ καὶ ὀλυμπιονίκῳ  
Ἡρακλεῖ, μνηστεύω ταινίαν, τιάραν καὶ κίδαριν.

6-7 οὐδὲ γάρ – κατανεύσης: Hom. Il. 1, 526-527 || 8-9 ἀσκητὸν – κα-  
ταδεύω: cf. Hesiod. Op. 546 πῖλον ἔχειν ἀσκητὸν, ἵν' οὐατα μὴ καταδεύῃ ||  
10-11 περικεφαλαίας σωτηρίου: cf. Is. 59: 17; Ephes. 6: 17 καὶ τὴν περικε-  
φαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθαι || 14 ἑκατὸν – ἀραρυῖαν: Hom. Il 5, 744 ||  
15 οὐδὲν ἱερὸν: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 38 || κυνέην Ἀδου: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 845  
Ἀθήνη δ' οὐκ Ἀΐδος κυνέην

9 καταθεύω P || 21 τοίαν LPdTheil; τῷ μῶ P; καὶ] om LPdTheil || 22  
τίαρας LPdTheil

cause";<sup>27</sup> "no word of yours may be recalled no longer, nor is false, nor unfulfilled, whereto you bow your head".<sup>28</sup> You have sent me, following the wise Hesiod, a shaped cap of felt to keep my ears from getting wet. With what could I repay your kindness in return for the cap that would be deserving, if not with my best wishes, which are offered to you like a helmet to keep you safe and a crown decorated with virtues like a treasure rich in blessings? The helmet of Athena which Homer praised as a great fine golden object, "fitted with the men-at-arms of an hundred cities",<sup>29</sup> I consider it not sacred but as "the cap of Hades".<sup>30</sup> Your Athena indeed does not emerge in full armor from the head of Zeus – a silly and absurd story – but from the undefiled wisdom of God; she is truthful, an everlasting prudence, heavenly and eternal; moreover, fully-armed and unconquered, she is capable of vanquishing both visible and invisible enemies.

Such a sacred headband, such a tiara, such a diadem I pledge to my gloriously triumphant Olympic winner, Herakles.

27. *Ibid.* I, 121.

28. *Ibid.* I, 43.

29. *Ibid.* I, 249.

30. *Ibid.* I, 257.

οα'

&lt;οβ&gt;

Φωκᾶ φοιτητῇ

Ὅταν δὲ ἄρα Θεὸς τοῦ μνήμονος ἐπικάθηται καὶ κινεῖ τὴν  
 γλῶτταν ἀγαθὰ λέγειν πρὸς βασιλέα, περιττὸν ἂν εἶη κινεῖν  
 5 κινούμενον οἴκοθεν. οὐκοῦν, ἐμοῦ σιωπῶντος, τὴν σὴν κινεῖ  
 γλῶτταν Θεός.

οβ'

&lt;ογ&gt;

Λουκίτῃ φοιτητῇ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

Ἦκεν ἡμῖν Τραπεζοῦντιθεν γράμματα λαμπρά, πρωτοβε-  
 στιαρίου τοῦ καλοῦ Λουκίτου πεπομφότος, χρηστὰ περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ μηνύοντα· ἃ δὴ πολλάκις ἀνελίττοντες καὶ δι' αὐτῶν  
 5 ἰόντες πῶς δοκεῖς ἡδόμεθα ἐπὶ τε τῇ νῦν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τῇ  
 τῶν γε γραμμάτων εὐτεχνίᾳ; καὶ τεθαύμακα μὲν τὸν ἐπι-  
 στείλαντα, μεμακάρικα δὲ τὴν ὀλβιωτάτην ἐν λόγοις καὶ  
 πάγχρυσον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ φιλευσεβοῦς βα-  
 σιλέως πόλιν, τὴν τῶν ἀπανταχῇ γῆς εὐδαιμόνων πόλεων  
 10 εὐδαιμονεστάτην βασιλίδα τε καὶ μητρόπολιν. ῥήτορας ἄν-  
 δρας καὶ φιλοσόφους, οὐχ ἥμισυ δὲ καὶ ἄκρους ἀστρονόμους  
 ὠδίνουσάν τε καὶ τρέφουσιν – ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔρεῖν πᾶσαν ἄλλην φι-  
 λοσοφίαν, ὅση τε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβείας καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ  
 15 ὅση τῆς Ἑλληνίδος ἐπιστήμης –, καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς μετα-  
 διδοῦσαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπὲρ τὰς σοφὰς καὶ χρυσὰς ἐκείνας

73. 11 δυσήμισυ P

## 72. To the student Phokas

He whose memory is guided by God and whose tongue is moved  
 to report to the Emperor only the good, it would be superfluous  
 to prompt him to speak now that he has taken upon himself the  
 initiative. May God then inspire your tongue while I keep silent.

73. To the student Loukites,  
the Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines

Splendid letters came to us from Trebizond sent by the Protoves-  
 tiarios, the excellent Loukites, reporting good news about him.  
 I opened them and read them many times and I derived great  
 pleasure – believe me – both with his good fortune and his well-  
 written letters. I admired the author of the letter and at the  
 same time pronounced happy the blessed in learning, the golden  
 city of the pious Constantine the Great, the most prosperous  
 Queen of Cities, the Metropolis of all the prosperous cities, which  
 gives birth and raises orators and philosophers and not the least  
 leading astronomers – I set aside all the other philosophical  
 trends regarding either our piety and nobility or Greek science  
 – and in the dissemination of the sciences to all the other cities  
 the Queen of Cities surpasses even that old golden Athens of the

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Ἀθήνας πάλαι ποτέ· κρείττους γὰρ νῦν | .....

[Ἀπό]-

λλωνος φόρμιγγος. χρῶ δὴ νήταις καὶ φορμίζων καλὸν  
 ἀείδοις· κἂν τινὰ που κατὰ γῆν αἰνήτην συμβαίῃ τέττιξ,  
 20 ἀναπληρώσει τὸ τοῦ μέλους ἀνάκλημα, καθαπερεὶ ποτε τῷ  
 Λοκρῷ. θεοφιλῆς, ἐρρωμένος, εὐδαίμων διαβιώῃς καὶ σοι  
 ποτὶ γούνασι παῖδες παππάσαιεν, τοῦ κρείττονος εὐδο-  
 κήσαντος.

&lt;οδ&gt;

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

ογ'

Σολομῶν μὲν ἑκαῖνος, τὸ τῆς σοφίας ὄργανον, καιροῖς ἐκά-  
 στοις τὰ πρόσφορα σοφῶς διαιρῶν, τῷ τε χαίρειν καὶ τῷ  
 λυπεῖσθαι, τῷ τε σιγᾶν καὶ τῷ λέγειν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ  
 5 ὁ τραγικὸς Εὐριπίδης, λέγων ἔστι μὲν οὐ σιγὴ κρείττων

18-19 φορμίζων — ἀείδοις: cf. Hom. Od. 1, 155 φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο  
 καλὸν ἀείδειν || 19-21 τέττιξ — Λοκρῷ: cf. Clem. Alex. Protr. I, 1 (53, 8-11  
 Mond sert) Ῥήγνυται χορδὴ τῷ Λοκρῷ· ἐφίπταται ὁ τέττιξ τῷ ζυγῷ ...  
 καὶ τοῦ τέττιγος τῷ ᾄσματι ἄρμοσάμενος ὁ ᾠδὸς τὴν λείπουσαν ἀνεπλή-  
 ρωσεν χορδὴν || 21-22 καὶ σοι — παππάσαιεν: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 408 οὐδέ τί  
 μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γούνασι παππάζουσιν

16 κρείττους LPdTheil || post paginam 152 unum seu plura folia ar-  
 chetypi codicis excidisse videntur

74. 3-4 τῷ τε χαίρειν — λέγειν: cf. Eccl. 3:4; 3:7

past. Because now the best.....

the lyre of Apollo. "Strike the chords then and begin the pleasant  
 song". And if ever the cicada happens to accompany somewhere  
 on earth one who sings praises, it will add to the tune of the  
 melody, as in the case once with Lokros. Beloved of God, in good  
 health, may you have a prosperous life and may with God's bless-  
 ing your "children prattle around your knees".<sup>31</sup>

## 74. To the Grand Logothete Metochites

Solomon, that instrument of wisdom, had in a wise way ap-  
 pointed the appropriate time for everything, to laugh and weep,  
 to keep silence and to speak, and in nearly the same way the  
 tragic poet Euripides had said "silence is sometimes better than

31. Cf. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 225.

λόγου, ἔστι δ' οὐ σιγῆς λόγος. ἀμφοῖν δὴ πεπεισμένος ἔγω  
εἰσίων μὲν ὅτε δεῖν ἦν, λέγω δὲ νῦν ὅτε καιρός. καὶ τὸ σὸν δὲ  
φιλόσοφον, ὁρθῶς τοῖς πράγμασι διαιτῶν καὶ διαιροῦν ἄρι-  
στα, οὐποτέ μ' ἀθερίσει βέλτισθ' ὁμιλέοντα, φαίη γ' ἂν Νέστωρ  
10 ὁ Πύλιος. μηνύματα συχνά, χειμερίαις ἑοικότα νιφάδεσσι,  
παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀφικνουῦνται λαμπρότητος ὥστ' ἐπιδιδόναι  
παιδεία τὸν φίλτατον, τὰ μὲν συγκεκραμένα πως ἱλαρότητι,  
ἔστι δ' ἂ καὶ δριμύτερον καθικνούμενα.

Πρὸς ταῦτα τίνα με δεῖν ψυχὴν ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ συνήδειν  
15 ἑμαυτῷ μηδὲν τι τοῦ φιλτάτου παραμελεῖν; δέομαι πλὴν  
ἀκοῦσαί μου μικρόν. οἱ πρὸ σοῦ τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης  
ἐλαύνοντες ἄρμα πολλὴν περὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμοῦ  
θεράποντας ἐπεδείκνυντο πρόνοιαν, οἴκοθέν τε καὶ τῶν βασι-  
λικῶν πρυτανείων ἀποσιτίζοντες, κἀντεῦθεν εὐκλειαν μὲν  
20 ἑαυτοῖς, τοῖς δ' εὐδαιμονίαν πορίζοντες. ἴν' οὖν τοὺς παλαι-  
τέρους ἑάσαιμι, τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρω. Μουζάλων ἐκείνος, ὁ πρὶν  
μέγας μὲν λογοθέτης, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος, οὐ τὸν  
Ἰαλέαν, οὐχ ὁ κανικλείου Χαλκωματόπουλον βασιλικῶν σι-  
τηρεσίων ἡξίωσαν, οὐχ ὅσον οἶόν τ' εὐδαιμόνισαν; ἔγω δὲ  
25 πρὸς τίνος καὶ πόθεν, εἰ μὴ σὺ καὶ τὸ σὸν προνοήσεται μου  
φιλόσοφον καὶ βασιλικῆς ἀξιώσει κηδεμονίας; τότε δὴ, τότε  
καὶ χωλὸν ὅφει πρὸς δρόμον. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἔρρέτω σχολή, ἔρρόν-  
των λόγοι· βίου βαναύσου μελήσει μοι. |

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5-6 ἔστι — λόγος: cf. adn. ad ep. 32, 5-6 || 9 οὐποτέ — ὁμιλέοντα: cf. Hom.  
Il. 1, 261 καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθερίζον || 10 μηνύματα — νιφάδεσσι: cf. adn.  
ad ep. 15, 28-29 || 17-18 Ἑρμοῦ θεράποντας: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41

speech, and speech sometimes than silence".<sup>32</sup> Having been con-  
vinced by both I kept my silence when I ought to have done so,  
but now on this occasion I speak. Your philosophic mind, accord-  
ing to which you arrange and analyze matters, will never regard  
me with contempt when I propose the best, as Nestor of Pylos  
would put it. Your frequent messages "like winter snowflakes"  
arrive one after the other from your eminence, inquiring about  
the progress in school of your beloved son, some mixed with a  
certain cheerfulness, others coming in a stricter tone.

But with regard to your messages, how should I react, know-  
ing that the education of your beloved is not neglected? I only  
beg you to listen to me a little. Your predecessors who run the  
chariot of State showed great care for schools and for those who  
teach, financing their support either with their own means or  
from the imperial treasury, thereby securing fame for them-  
selves and for the others, prosperity. And in order to leave out  
the older, I will mention the recent ones. Did not the famous  
Mouzalon, former Megas Logothetes and then Protovestiaris,  
honoured with an imperial stipend Hyaleas, and the supervisor  
of the office of Kanikleion do the same with Chalkomatopoulos,  
making them both prosperous as best as they could? Who then  
will take care of me and whence will help come if your philo-  
sophic mind is not concerned and does not accord me the priv-  
ilege of imperial protection? Then you will see that even the  
lame can run! Otherwise, to hell with school and to hell with  
books. I will take care to earn my livelihood as a labourer.

32. Euripides, *Orestes*, tr. A.S. Way 179.



οδ'

&lt;οε'&gt;

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἔστι μὲν ἐν μονάσιν ὁ ἕξ τέλειος, γεννῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ  
μερῶν οἰκείων, λέγω δὴ τριῶν, δύο τε καὶ ἑνός, ἅπερ, καθεξῆς  
5 συντιθέμενα, τὸν ἕξ τέλειον ἀπαρτίζουν· ὅς, τετράκις συν-  
τιθέμενος, γεννᾷ τὸν εἰκοστὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμόν. καὶ τοῦ-  
παλιν, ἑξάκις ὁ τέσσαρα συμπερατοῖ τὸν αὐτόν. τοῦτον δὲ διὰ  
ῥοιᾶς γεννημάτων ἑξάκις πέπομφά σου τῷ κράτει συμ-  
βολικῶς, ὡς ἂν τρεῖς βασιλεύοντες καὶ τέταρτον συμβασι-  
λεύοντα σχοίητε· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τεττάρων τελείων ἄριστ' ἂν  
10 διοικοῖτο ἡ κοσμικὴ τετράπλευρος πλήρωσις, τετραβασιλείῃ  
περιφρουρουμένη φιλευσεβεῖ.

Ἔγωγε δ', οἷς ὁ θεοπάτωρ Δαβὶδ πρὸς Θεόν, τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
χρῶμαι πρὸς σέ, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου χριστόν· ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος  
ῥυσθῆναί με, ἵνα μὴ ἐμπαγῶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν μου  
15 ἐξενεχθῆναί με.

75. 13-14 ἀπὸ πηλοῦ – ἐμπαγῶ: cf. Ps. 39:3; 68:15 || 14-15 ἐκ τῶν –  
ἐξενεχθῆναί με: cf. Ps. 24:17 ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν μου ἐξάγαγέ με

5 τέτρατον LPdTheil || 5-6 τούπαλιν P

## 75. To the Emperor

Among the single numbers the number six is an even perfect number, because it is made up of its own parts, I mean, three, two and one, which upon being added produce the perfect number six, which being four times multiplied yields the number twenty-four. And contrariwise, four multiplied six times attains the same number. Four times multiplied by six I have sent to your majesty in a symbolic way the fruit of the pomegranate so that you, the three reigning Emperors, may have a fourth co-emperor. In this manner the universal four-sided union would be governed in a perfect way by four excellent ones, protected by a pious four-emperor joint rule.

As for me, I address to you, the anointed of the Lord, the same words the ancestor of God David had uttered to God: "draw me out of the miry clay" lest I become stuck in it and "bring me out of my distresses".

οε'

<οε'>  
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἔστι μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φειδῶ, ἔστι δὲ καὶ πειθῶ, πάρισα μὲν  
τῇ προφορᾷ, ἄνισα δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ, εἴπερ ἐκ πειθοῦς μὲν γέ-  
νοιτ' ἂν ἔλεος, ἐκ φειδοῦς δ' ὄλεθρος. δεῖ δὴ τοιγαροῦν ἔχεσθαι  
5 μὲν πειθοῦς, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ φειδοῦς. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν χαίρει μὲν  
δ βασιλεὺς οὐ φειδοῖ, χαίρεις δὲ σὺ πειθοῖ, δύνῃ πείσειν τὸν  
βασιλέα, οὗ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἔλεος προπορεύονται.

οε'

<οε'>  
Τῷ κανικλείου

Ἐγὼ δὲ τί ποτ' ἂν ἕτερον πάσχω πάθος, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτόν, ὅπερ  
δ μῦθος οἶδε τὸν Τάνταλον, ἠωρῆσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ λίμνης δίψῃ  
φλεγμαινόντα, μὴ δεδυνημένον δὲ πιεῖν ἐκτετηγανίσθαι καὶ

76. 1 epistulam imperatori falso attribuit scriba || 7 δικαιοσύνη — προ-  
πορεύοντα: cf. Ps. 88:15 δικαιοσύνη ... ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθεια προπορεύονται

77. 3-9 τὸν Τάνταλον — ἀκολάστῳ: cf. Eust. Comm. Od. 1, 436, 34-  
41 ἐπειδὴ συνὼν θεοῖς τῶν ἀπορρήτων μετέδωκε τοῖς ὁμήλιξι ... τῶν δὲ γε  
πλασμένων ἠωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν οὐρανοῦ μέσον καὶ γῆς οἱ μὲν αἰτίαν τῆς κο-  
λάσεως εἶπον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν προσεχῶς ῥηθεῖσαν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀκόλαστον  
γλῶσσαν; cf. Karathanasis 31-32 Ταντάλου τιμωρία

3 δίψῃ ex δίψῃ corr P || 4 μὴδὲ δυνήμενον LPdTheil

## 76. [To a court official]

Among people there is a reluctance to give (pheidō) but there is  
also persuasion (peithō). They are both pronounced in exactly  
the same way yet they are different in their meaning, if indeed  
from persuasion could result mercy and from miserliness, de-  
struction. One must therefore adhere to persuasion and avoid  
stinginess. Since then from stinginess the Emperor does not de-  
rive joy and you draw pleasure from persuasion, you can per-  
suade the Emperor, whose vanguards are justice and mercy.

## 77. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

My suffering is no other but is actually the same as the myth re-  
lates of Tantalos, who was hanging over a lake burning from  
thirst, unable to drink and destroyed by fire, thus paying the

- 5 τίνειν δίκην πικράν πρὸς Διὸς τοῦ πατρός· θεοῖς γὰρ συνε-  
στιώμενος, κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον καὶ μυστηρίων  
ἡκροαμένος, εἴτ' ἔκαῖθεν κατιῶν καὶ τοῖς κάτω συνδιαιτώμε-  
νος, ἃ μὲν ἐώρα, ἃ δ' ἡκροᾶτο, γλώττῃ διεπόρθημεν ἀκολά-  
στῃ. ἐγὼ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθὼν, γλώτταν μὲν κεκολασμένην  
10 ἀσκήν, ἐπαινέτιν δὲ βασιλέως κατάκρας ἀνδρῶν τε σοφῶν,  
δίκην ἴσῃν τίνω Ταντάλῳ, μεταξὺ πλουτούντων πεπολιορ-  
κημένος πενία καὶ στερραῖς ἐνδείας βαλλόμενος ἐλεπόλεσιν,  
ἀνδρῶν καὶ ταῦτα σοφῶν, ἡ βασιλέα δυναμένων πείθειν εὐερ-  
γετεῖν – ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐρεῖν ἑαυτούς.
- 15 Καὶ μὴν πλείους ὑποκρινόμενοι με φιλεῖν, πλήττειν δὲ  
μᾶλλον κρύβδην τεχνώμενοι, μακάριον ἡγνῶνται καὶ μακα-  
ρίαν κενὴν μακαρίζουσι, φάσκοντες ὠλβίσθαι πρὸς τε βασι-  
λέως πρὸς τε δὴ τῶν ἐν τέλει· ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν ταλανίζω, τὴν  
ἐμὴν δυσδαιμονίαν διανοούμενος. καὶ μὴν Ὑαλέας ἐκεῖνος δι-  
20 δάσκων τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων ἀπεσιτίζετο καὶ χρυσίον  
συχνὸν ἐπορίζετο μέχρι τῷ χρεῶν ἐλειτούργησεν. ὁ γε μὴν  
Χαλκωματόπουλος – ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ὅπόσον εὐδαι-  
μονίας τάνδρ' ἐπερὶ διὰ σοῦ; ἦν οὖν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ βασι-  
λέως πρόνοια διὰ σοῦ διαβαίη καὶ παρὰ φάτνην σταῖμεν  
25 βασιλεῖον, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν λόγιον Ἑρμῆν θερα-  
πεύοιμεν καὶ χορὸν αὐτῷ συνιστάημεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω μὲν  
Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις θητεύουσιν, ἐρρόντων λόγοι, Μοῦσαι τε

16-17 μακαρίαν κενήν: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 20 || 19-23 καὶ μὴν Ὑαλέας  
– περὶ διὰ σοῦ: cf. supra ep. 74, 21-24

5 πάτερος LPdTheil || 21 συχνὸν LPdTheil || μὲν (pro μὴν) LPdTheil

harsh penalty the father Zeus imposed upon him. Banqueting together with the gods, judged worthy of sharing a common table as equal and being initiated in their mysteries, he then descended from there and living together with the people on earth, transmitted what he had seen and heard with a loose tongue. But I do not know why on earth, although my tongue is restrained and praises highly the Emperor and the wise men, I pay a penalty similar to that of Tantalos; I live among the rich and yet I am besieged by poverty and assailed by cruel, city-deströying privation, and yet these wise men were in a position to persuade the Emperor – not to say themselves – to grant a benefit to me.

Furthermore, many pretend to love me, but they actually contrive to injure me secretly, and they consider me fortunate and pronounce my empty happiness blessed, saying that the Emperor and the magistrates have made me wealthy, but I deplore my situation when I think of my bad luck. Yet, when that person Hyaleas was teaching he was sustained by the imperial treasury, receiving gold regularly up to the time of his death. And Chalkomatopoulos likewise – but there is no need to mention the wealth he received on account of you. If the Emperor's care could also be passed to me through your intervention and we could stand before the imperial manger, then it would be possible both to serve as a teacher in the school and to gather students. Otherwise, to hell with the young students, to hell with the discourses, the Muses and the school. It is possible to live

καὶ σχολή· ἔστι καὶ παρὰ βαναύσοις βιῶναι· ἐκείνου γενοίμην  
τοῦ κόμματος, καὶ γενοίμην ἴσως εὐδαιμονέστερος.

<ση>

Λουκίτη φοιτητῇ πρωτονοταρίῳ  
καὶ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

οζ'

Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἀνέγνως τὸν Μακεδόνα, σοφὴ κεφαλὴ,  
πραγμάτων καὶ πυσμάτων διαιτητὴν περιδέξιον· Φιλίππου  
5 γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐρομένου ὁπότερον ἀμφοῖν πλεον φιλεῖν, τὸν  
παιδευτὴν ἢ τὸν πατέρα, οἷον ἀπεκρίνατο; τὸν παιδευτὴν. καὶ  
τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ ἡγήσατο, εἰπὼν τὸν πατέρα μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, τὸν  
παιδευτὴν δ' εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγεῖν, δοῦς τὸ πλεον τῷ  
παιδευτῇ καὶ διελὼν ἀριστίνδην ἀρρεπῆς κατέστη διαιτητής.  
10 οὐδ', εἰ μὴ πικρὸν ἔρεῖν, συνδιέστησας τῷ τόπῳ τὴν γνώμην  
καὶ τοῦ μνήμονος ἡμᾶς ἐξωστράκισας· εἶπε γάρ, πρὸς τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, τί τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον ἐφθόνησας, καὶ  
ταῦτα πλεον ἐφειμένους ἀκηχοέναι ἢ περ Ὀδυσσεὺς τῆς τῶν  
Σειρήνων λιγυρᾶς ἐμμελείας; ἔρεῖς, τῷ μὴ λόγων εὐπορεῖν  
15 μὴτ' οὖν δεξιῶς ἔχειν φύσεως ἐπιστέλλειν, ἅτε δὴ συνῶν  
ἀνδράσιν οὐχ Ἑλλήσιν οὐδ' ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας μετέχουσιν

78. 3 cf. adn. ad ep. 38, 19-23 || 10 οὐδ', εἰ — γνώμην: Synes. ep. 138  
(241, 11-12 Garzya) αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, συνδιέστησας τῷ τόπῳ  
τὴν γνώμην

6-7 πατέρα LPdTheil || 15 ἐπιστελλεῖν LPdTheil

the life of a labourer. I will join that class and perhaps I may be-  
come happier.

78. To the student Loukites,  
Protonotarios and Protovestiaros of the Trapezuntines

You have read, my wise head, that Alexander the Macedonian  
was an expert arbiter in settling matters and in answering ques-  
tions. When his father Philip asked him which of the two he  
loved more, his teacher or his father, what did he answer? The  
teacher. Upon this he brought forth an explanation for his an-  
swer, saying that his father had given him life, but his teacher  
assured him a noble life, thereby offering a greater share to the  
teacher and by making a perfect distinction he proved an objec-  
tive arbiter. But you, "you seem to me to have changed your  
character along with your abode" thus erasing us from your  
memory. Because, tell us, for God's sake, why do you have such  
a grudge against us so as to withhold your letters, although we  
have the desire to listen to them even more than Ulysses heard  
the sweet melodies of the Sirens. You will perhaps say that you  
do not have a lot to say, and that you are not practiced in letter  
writing, being together with non-Greeks, people who have no  
share of Greek learning or, if this is not the reason, that you have

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ἢ, καὶ μὴ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πολλοῖς πραγμάτων περιστοιχι-  
 ζεσθαι; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοι μάρτυς, εὐπορεῖν μὲν τοῦ προτέρου |  
 20 ἔνι γάρ, ἔνι σοι καὶ λέγειν φύσις καὶ γράφειν —, περὶ τοῦ  
 δευτέρου δ' ἂν εἰδείης αὐτός.

Ἄλλ' ἥνπερ ἦν βουλομένῳ σοι, καὶ πραγμάτων σαυτὸν  
 καὶ καιροῦ κεκλοφῶς ἐχαρίσω καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ μικρὰ καὶ τῷ  
 παιδευτῇ· νυνὶ δέ, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ἔχεις Πάτροκλον πρό-  
 25 φασιν καὶ πειρᾷ συμφέροντι πλάσματι περιχραινύειν τῆς  
 ἀληθείας τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ὑπὸ σκηρικῇ προσωπεῖω καλύ-  
 πτειν. οὐ λήθεις, ὦ γενναῖε, οὐδὲ πείσεις, οὐδ' ἦν πείσης· ἐπεὶ  
 πῶς τοῖς Λουκίταις ἐπιστέλλεις καὶ προσφθέγγῃ μακρά,  
 πῶς τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ συνήθων, ἐμὲ δ' ἔῃς  
 ἥσθαι δευόμενον καὶ περιορᾷς οἷον ἀγέραστον;

30 Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴν τινες Τραπεζουντόθεν ἀφίκωνται,  
 τρόπον τοῦτον ἡμέτερον πυνθανόμεθα καί, ὅ φασιν, ἄστρασιν  
 οὐ γράμμασι τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς σημαινόμεθα· καὶ γε, μανθάνοντες

23-24 Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν: Diogen. 7, 47 (CPG I 294); Apostol. 14, 8  
 (CPG II 606); Karathanasis 29-30 | Salzmann 14 || 26 οὐ λήθεις: cf. Hom.  
 Il. 24, 562 οὐδέ με λήθεις || 26 οὐδὲ πείσεις — πείσης: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 600  
 || 28-29 ἐμὲ — δευόμενον: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 134 αὐτὰρ ἐμ' αὕτως ἥσθαι δευό-  
 μενον || 31-32 ἄστρασιν — σημαινόμεθα: cf. Synes. ep. 7 (28, 6 Garzya) ἄστροις  
 τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς σημαίνεσθαι; Apostol. 4, 12 (CPG II 312); Karathanasis 92 |  
 Salzmann 88

23 καὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας LPdTheil || 25 τὸν (pro τὸ) LPdTheil

been besieged by many concerns? But I can testify that in the  
 first instance you are a practiced letter writer – because you are  
 by nature capable both to speak and write – regarding the sec-  
 ond, you would know better yourself.

But if you wanted it you would have stolen some time from  
 your affairs and given a little to friendship to your teacher as  
 well. But now as the proverb says you have as a pretext Patroklos  
 and you try through a suitable fiction to paint the face of truth  
 and hide it behind a theatrical mask. You do not escape from me,  
 my good fellow, you will not convince me, even if you convince  
 me. Because how do you write to the Loukites clan, addressing  
 them long letters, and do the same with the rest of your com-  
 rades and friends, “yet you have me abide thus in want”<sup>33</sup> and  
 overlook me, leaving me without a gift of honour.

But when some arrive here from Trebizond, we ask them in  
 our own way about you and, as they say, we learn of your affairs  
 from the stars and not from letters. And surely, upon receiving  
 good news, we leap with joy and clapping our hands in applause

33. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 13.

35 λήονα, μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ κρότου σχιρτῶμεν καὶ τὰ τῶν  
ἐκπεπληγμένων δρώμεν, πηδῶντες, βοῶντες, ἐνθουσιῶντες,  
ἐκεῖν' ἀκούοντες, ἅττ' ἤμεν εὐχόμενοι, ὅποτε χερσὶν ἐμαῖς  
ἐμαῖς τε παιδείαις ἡῦξου τρεφόμενος, παραμείψας μὲν τὸν  
παῖδα, παραγγείλας δ' ἐς μεираκία, καὶ ἀγωγὴν ἡγου τὴν  
κρείττω. νῦν δὲ φροῦδα ταῦτα παρὰ σοί.

40 Ἦν μὲν οὖν λήθη τῆς μνήμης κατεξωρχήσατο, πιέτω  
πόμα λήθη τὸ λήθαιον, μᾶλλον δὲ κώνειον· σὺ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ  
δείξεις ὑπ' ἐκείνης ὣν τυραννούμενος. ἐπειδὴν καὶ γράμμασί  
με δωρήσῃ καὶ δώροις — παιδὸς γὰρ εὐδαιμονοῦντος καὶ τὸν  
πατέρα δεῖ συνευδαιμονεῖν κατὰ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπε-  
45 λάργωσιν —, ἐσθῆτα πηνοῦφῃ πεπομφώς, ἣν καμχᾶν ἡ Περ-  
σῶν φησι γλῶττα, δράσων, εὖ ἴσθι, οὐ δίπλακα μὲν οὐδὲ μαρ-  
μαρέην, οἷαν Ἑλένη ἐξύφαινε, ἀλλ' ἡεροειδῆ καὶ ποικίλην.  
ἐγὼ δ' ἀντὶ ταύτης ἐξ εὐχῶν σοι καινὸν ἄμφιον ὑφάνω.

Ἐρρωμένος εὐδαιμονοίης, πολλαῖς ἡλίων περιδρομαῖς θε-  
όθεν φρουρούμενος.

33-34 τὰ τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων — βοῶντες: cf. Lib. ep. 9, 1 (XI p. 570, 2-3 Foerster) ὣν οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐπῆδα τε καὶ ἐβόα καὶ πάντα ἔδρα τὰ τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων || 38 φροῦδα — παρὰ σοί: cf. Eur. Herc. 480; Mich. Chon. Ep. 21 (Kolovou 29, 68) μὴ γένωνται φροῦδα καὶ ταῦτα || 39-40 πιέτω — λήθαιον: cf. Mich. Ital. ep. 25, (178, 16-17 Gautier) τὸ λήθαιον ἴσως ἐκχέει σοι πόμα || 43-44 ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7 || 45-46 οὐ δίπλακα — ἐξύφαινε: cf. Hom. Il. 3, 125 sq. ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὑφαίνε, δίπλακα πορφυρέην

and in great astonishment we jump and shout, ecstatic at what we hear and for which we had prayed when you came into my hands and grew up as my pupil, after you had passed your childhood and had become a youth introduced to more advanced lessons. But for you all these have vanished.

If forgetfulness has taken hold of your memory, let forgetfulness drink a potion that causes forgetfulness or rather, let it drink hemlock; anyway, you shall show in the future that you were under her sway in the past, when you shall send me letters and gifts — because when a child prospers the father must also prosper according to the celebrated “antipelargosis” — sending a dress woven on the loom, which is called in the Persian language kamcha — making a gift, you should know that you will benefit me — not of a double fold or glittering one such as Hellen had woven, but a dark one of many colors. In return for your gift, I shall weave a new vestment for you of prayers.

May you prosper in good health, remaining under God's protection during the many cycles of the sun yet to come.

οη'

<οθ'>  
Μανουήλ Κριτῆ

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5

Ὡς μήτ' ὀφειλή τις ἐν ἀνθρώποις μήτε μὴν ἀπαιτήσεις ἦν, εἴπερ ἄμφω κακῶ, ἥστην δ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, κρατούσης ἰσότητος. νυνὶ δέ, τυραννοῦντος τοῦ βίου, μᾶλλον δ' ἡμῶν ἑαυτούς, μοχθηρία κρατεῖ τὰ χεῖρω. δεῖ δ' ἄρα κρατῆσθαι ποτὲ καὶ τὰ λύονα, εἴπερ ἂν βουλοίμεθα, οὐδὲν δ' ἄρα λῶν ἰσότητος, ἢ λύειν οἷδε διαφορὰς.

10

Τοιγαροῦν ἀμφοῖν μέσος ἐστὺς, ἀπαιτήσῃ καὶ ἀποτίσῃ, πέρανι θάττον, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀνύσας, καὶ λῦε διαφορὰς συμπλοκάς, στάθμη τις εὐθύτητος προβληθεὶς καὶ κανὼν ἀκριβὴς τῆς ἰσότητος.

&lt;π'&gt;

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ κοιτῶνος

οθ'

5

Οὔτε σμικρὸς σπινθὴρ περιφανῆ πυρσὸν ἐξανάψει, μὴ παρόντος σκαλεύοντος, οὔτ' οὖν ἄνθρωπος ὀνήσειεν ἄνθρωπον, μηδενὸς κινουῦντος πρὸς ὄνησιν. ἦν οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ, πῶς ἂν βασιλεὺς κινήθῃ πολὺφροντις καὶ μυρίοις περιστοιχιζόμενος πράγμασιν, εἰ μή τις τῆς τε βασιλέως ψυχῆς τῆς θ' ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ δεομένου φροντίσειεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ τηλικούτος οὐρανὸς ὀξυτάτην κίνησιν κινήθῃ, μὴ κινουῦντος ἄξονος.

## 79. To Manuel the Krites

if really debts and demands had not existed among people, which, indeed, are both evil, and if they both had disappeared from life, equality would have prevailed. But now as life has become tyrannical and we rather tyrannize ourselves wickedness prevails for the worse. But at some time or other the good must take over, if we want, because nothing is better than equality, which knows how to resolve the differences.

But since you have taken a middle position between the two, demand and compensation, bring the issue to an end quickly, fulfilling your promise, and resolve the conflict of interest, proving yourself to be a rule of righteousness and an exact standard of equality.

## 80. To the Prokathemenos of the Koiton

Neither would a small spark light a bright torch if there were not at hand someone to kindle it, nor would a man benefit another if there were no one to motivate him for beneficence. If then this is the case, how could the Emperor be motivated to act, being occupied by so many cares and surrounded by a myriad of problems, if someone would not take thought of the Emperor's soul and of his own also, and in addition the care of the suppliant? Because not even so great a heaven could rotate with speed, if its axis is not turned.

- 10 Γενοῦ μοι τοιγαροῦν ἔμψυχος ἄξων, ζῶντα κινῶν οὐρανόν,  
καὶ κινούμενον οἴκοθεν, βασιλέα λέγω, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τρέχειν  
ὁδὸν ἀγαλλιώμενον. εἴη δ' ἂν βασιλέως ὁδὸς εὐεργεσία,  
ὥσπερ ἡλίου φωτοχυσία. Ἐγὼ δ', ὡς Ἀτλας ἄλλος τὸν οὐρα-  
νόν, τῆς βασιλικῆς εὐεργεσίας βαστάσω τὸν φόρτον.

<πα>

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

π'

- Εὐριπίδης ὁ τραγικός δίκαιον εἶναι φησὶ πολλῶν σαφεῖ φίλον  
πρίασθαι χρημάτων, πρίατο δ' ἂν τοιοῦτον, ὅστις οἶόν τι τὸ  
μέγα χρῆμα σύνοιδε τῆς φιλίας. Ἐγὼ δέ, δυναμένοις μέγα  
5 χρώμενος φίλοις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως οὖσιν ἄξιω-  
μάτων καὶ με πλουτίζειν ῥαδύνως πως, εἰ μόνον βούλονται ἂν,  
ἔχουσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῃ τρόπῳ μήτε τῶν πρὸς βασιλέως μήτε  
τῶν οἴκοι σιτίζειν αἰροῦνται.

- Καὶ μὴν ὅταν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ καθηγητῇ παῖδες φοιτῶσιν, οὐδὲν  
10 ἥττον εἶεν ἂν δίκαιοι τὴν ἴσην τοῖς υἱέσι πρόνοιαν κάπ' ἐμοὶ  
προνοεῖν, καίτοι δέον μείζω τε καὶ κρείττω, ὃ δὴ ποιοῦσι πα-

80. 10 ἔμψυχος ἄξων: cf. Mich. Chon. Monod. ad Nic. Chon. (I, 350, 9  
Lampros) καὶ κύρβις ἀποτελεῖται νομοθεσίας ζῶσα καὶ ἄξων ἔμψυχος

81. 2-3 πολλῶν — χρημάτων cf. Eur. fr. 934 (933 Kannicht) νοῦν  
ἔχοντος <ἦν ἄρα> φίλον πρίασθαι χρημάτων πολλῶν σαφεῖ; Lib. ep. 571,3  
(X, 537, 7-8 Foerster)

11-12 πάτερες LPdTheil

Become then to me a living axis and help the living heaven,  
I mean the Emperor, to revolve and rotate by himself so as to  
run his course rejoicing. And may the course taken by the Em-  
peror be that of benevolence, just as the sun's is the shedding of  
light. As for myself, like another Atlas I shall raise the heavens,  
the weight of the imperial benefaction.

### 81. To the Grand Logothete

The tragic poet Euripides says that it is just to buy a true friend  
for much money and he would have bought one who knew the  
great meaning of friendship. I have friends who are very pow-  
erful and who possess high offices conferred by the Emperor and  
they could somehow easily enrich me if only wished it, but I do  
not know for what reason they choose not to support me either  
from the imperial treasury or with their own means.

And indeed, it is only fair that the parents whose children  
study under my guidance should take thought of me in the same  
way they take care of their sons, although they should show an



τέρες περί τὰ τέχνα χρηστοί, διὰ τῆς χρηστῆς διαίτης τῶν  
τιθηνῶν τῶν βρεφῶν προνοούμενοι. ἦν τοῦτο καὶ Μουσεῖοις  
κρατοῦν ἦν, τάχ' ἂν ἡ περί τοὺς παιδευτὰς πρόνοια πρὸς τοὺς  
15 παιδευομένους διέβαινεν· οἱ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθόντες, φεί-  
δονται μὲν τῶν οἰκείων, φείδονται δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν βασι-  
λέως, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὰ πιδήμια πίνοντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν μεταβάλοιεν· εἰ  
δ' οὖν, ἐγὼ μὲν οἴκοι μενῶ, οἱ φοιτῆται δὲ παιζόντων ἐπ' ἀ-  
γορᾶς.

&lt;πβ&gt;

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Μετὰ θάρρους τε καὶ δέους ἔχει τὰ γράμματα, ἐκεῖνο μὲν διὰ  
τὸν ἀκραιφνή Φίλιον, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ περὶ τῷ φόρτῳ δεδιέναι. ἃ  
δ' οὖν ἔρεϊ, χρόνος, ὃς παρῶχηκε χθές, κενούς ἡμᾶς παρειαίως,  
5 κενούς τῷ νῦν παραδέδωκεν, ὥσπερ τις ἡγεμῶν δεσμώτας  
τῷ δεσμοφύλακι. οὐκοῦν πανταχόθεν δεδόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ  
φρουρίῳ καθεῖργμεθα. ποῦ γάρ παρ' ἡμῖν σιτία, ποῦ χρυσία,  
ποῦ δὲ ἀργύρια, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν βιοῖμεν; ἐν μόνον τρέφον, ἐλπίς,  
εἰ μὴ καὶ αὕτη τοῦ πίθου ἐκπτᾶσα παρῶχηκεν. εἰ δ' ἴσως

12 τέχνα LPdTheil || 13 προνοούμενοι P || 17 τὰ πιδήμια P || τὰ πιδήμια  
LPdTheil

82. 2-3 διὰ τὸν ἀκραιφνή Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11 || 9 τοῦ πίθου –  
παρῶχηκεν: cf. Hesiod. Op. 969 sq.

9 αὕτη LPdTheil

even greater and better concern, just as good fathers do their  
best for their children, securing a good life for the nurses of their  
new-borns. If this practice would have been introduced to  
schools, perhaps the concern for the teachers would also benefit  
the students. But they, I do not know what moved them, are fru-  
gal with their own money, but no less they are frugal with the  
Emperor's, though they spend it drinking in festivities. If then  
they would change – otherwise, I shall stay at home and the stu-  
dents can go play at the market place.

## 82. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiaron

My letters come to you both with confidence and fear, the first  
on account of my friendship to you, the other because I am  
afraid of becoming a burden. What the letters have to say is that  
the year, which yesterday ended, left me empty, and empty now  
has delivered me just as a commander delivers the prisoners to  
a gaoler. I am therefore bound from every side, shut in a secure  
prison. Where are food, gold, silver so that we may survive? Only  
one thing – hope – sustains me, unless she flew out of the vessel

- 10 ἔνδον, ἔργον σὸν δείξειν, ὃς πείσεις μὲν βασιλέα, πείσεις δὲ σεαυτὸν, τοῦ παρόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ εὐλογημένον προβῆναι τὸν στέφανον.

<πγ>

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

πβ'

- Ἀριθμὸς ὁ τέσσαρα, βασιλεῦ, ἔστι μὲν ἐπίπεδος, γίνεται δὲ καὶ στερρός, ἐπειδὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν πολυπλασιασθεὶς γεννήσῃ τὸν δεκαέξ. καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐκ τεσσάρων ὁ Θεὸς συναρμολογήσας  
5 ὑπέστησε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐκ χυμῶν τεσσάρων συνέστησεν. ἀναλόγως οὖν καὶ τὸ σὸν κράτος οὐ πλείω τεσσάρων γεννημάτων ῥοιᾶς πεπομφέναι προστέταχεν, ἵν' εἰεν εὐρωστίας αἷσια σύμβολα, συγκεκραμένων τῶν χυμῶν πρὸς ἐξίσωσιν. οὔδ' ἐξίσωσις, εὐρωστία, εὐρωστία δὲ βίου μακρό-  
10 τής. αὕτη δὲ κρατοῦσα τῶν τεσσάρων κόσμου κλιμάτων ἀναφῇγειεν αὐτοκράτορα.

11-12 ἐνιαυτοῦ — στέφανον: cf. Ps. 64:12 εὐλογήσεις τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου; Athanasius, Exposit. in Psalm. (PG 27: 285)

83. 1 ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 75

and went away. If she is perhaps still inside, it is your task to prove it, by persuading the Emperor and by persuading also yourself, so that the new year may be crowned with bounty.

### 83. To the Emperor

The number four, my Emperor, is a square number, but it becomes also solid representing four surfaces, and when it is multiplied by itself it produces the number sixteen. And God created everything by bringing together four elements and the human body he brought into being from four elements. In proportion your majesty ordered me to send no more than four pieces of the fruit of the pomegranate so that they may be regarded as auspicious symbols of strength, their humors being blended in equal measure. Where there is equal measure, there is also strength, and through strength a long life. May you live long and be declared Emperor of the four regions of the world.

πγ'

<πδ'>  
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἔμοι, καὶ ζῶντι καὶ θανατῶντι πεινῶντί τε καὶ διψῶντι καὶ  
 πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἀνθρώπινον πάσχοντι, μία λύσις τῶν δυσχερῶν,  
 μία μετὰ Θεὸν προσφυγή, ἡ πρὸς τὸ σὸν κράτος ἐλπίς· οὕτως  
 5 ἐκολλήθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου ὀπίσω σου. μὴ γοῦν καταισχυνθεῖην  
 ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας μου, ἀλλ' ἀντιλάβοιτό μου ἡ δεξιὰ σου.

πδ'

<πε'>  
Λουκίτῃ φοιτητῇ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίῳ

p. 159

Ἦκεν ἡμῖν γράμματα, τοῦ καλοῦ πεπομφότος πρωτοβε-  
 στιαρίου, καὶ πάλιν ἤσε, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν λύπαις εὐρόντα, καὶ πα-  
 ραμυθία γεγόνασι συμφορῶν· ἀκείνας μὲν ἀπῶσε καὶ  
 5 ἀπερράπισεν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἀνεκούφισε καὶ ἀνέρρωσεν, οὕτω μὲν  
 ἡδέα τυγχάνοντα, οὕτω δ' εὐαγγελιζόμενα λψόνα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 γράφοις τοιαῦτα καὶ συχνῶς ἤδων εἴης καὶ κουφίζων τὰ λυ-  
 πηρά· ἐγὼ δ' ἐνατενίζων τοῖς γράμμασιν, αὐτὸν σὲ βλέπειν  
 ἡγοίμην καὶ τῆς μελιχρᾶς σῆς ἐμπορεῖσθαι σειρήνος καὶ τῶν  
 10 ἐμμελῶν ἀκροᾶσθαι φθόγγων τῆς θαυμασίας ἡχοῦς.

84. 5-6 ἐκολλήθη — ἡ δεξιὰ σου: cf. Ps. 62:9 ἐκολλήθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου  
 ὀπίσω σου, ἐμοῦ ἀντελάβετο ἡ δεξιὰ σου

85. 8 ἐνατενίζων τοῖς γράμμασιν: cf. Mich. Chon. ep. 44 (59, 11  
 Kolovou) διὰ γραμμάτων ἐνατενίζειν

## 84. To the same

For me, while alive or dead, hungry or thirsty or suffering what  
 the whole lot of humans endure, there is one solution from these  
 adversities, only one other refuge after God, the hope in your au-  
 thority; thus "my soul clings to thee". May I not be put to shame  
 in my expectations, but may your right hand give me support.

85. To the student Loukites,  
 the Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines

The letters sent by the noble Protovestiarios came to us and al-  
 though they found us in sorrow they gratified us once again, be-  
 coming a consolation in our misfortune in that they set aside  
 and silenced our sorrow, and by being so pleasant and promising  
 the best they relieved and strengthened us afresh. I wish you  
 would continue writing such letters, pleasing us time and again  
 and alleviating our sorrow. Contemplating your letters, I be-  
 lieved that I was seeing you in person and enjoying the charm  
 of your eloquence and listening to the sound of your harmonious  
 and wonderful voice.

Ἡβουλόμεν μὲν μηκύναι τὸ βραχυπέδες ἐπιστόλιον, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς συγχέεται ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ νάρκης πάσχει πάθος ἡ γλῶττα. σὺ δὲ μὴ δυσχερὲς ἡγήσαιο τοῦτο· οἶσθα γάρ, σοφὴ κεφαλὴ, ὡς ἐν καιροῖς συμφορῶν καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλων ἐπι-  
 15 προσθεν· ψυχαὶ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶν οἱ καιροί. ἀλλ' ἰδοιμί σε καὶ αὐτοψεί, Θεοῦ δικαιοῦσαντος, καὶ κοινὴν ἑορτὴν ἑορτάσασαιμεν.

Ἐρρωμένος εἶης, εὐδαιμονῶν, ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν προβαίνων καὶ μοῦ μεμνημένος καὶ προμηθεύμενος.

<πς>

Τῷ κανικλείου

πε'

Ὡς ἦσεν ἡκὼν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ Ὑμήττιον μέλι, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Πυλίου Νέστορος μελιχρότερε,

τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης γλυκίων μέλιτος ῥέεν αὐδὴ·

5 ἐξύφονται γὰρ μετὰ Καλλιόπης καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλωνός τε τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ λογίου Ἑρμοῦ. ἀναγνωσθεὶς δὲ πολλάκις καὶ Σειρήνων ἑμμελῶν ἑμμελέστερος ἔδοξεν. ἀμέλει καί, οὓς ἔραστὰς λόγων ἦδεν σοφῶν καὶ γενναίων

15 ψυχὰι – καιροί: Nic. Chon. ep. 11 (216, 5 van Diäten); Jo. Apocau-  
 cus ep. 94 (146, 9 Bees); Apostol. 9, 42 (CPG II 471) καιρός ψυχῇ πράγ-  
 ματος || 18 ἀπὸ δόξης – δόξαν: cf. II Cor. 3: 18 μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης  
 εἰς δόξαν

86. 4 τοῦ καὶ – αὐδὴ: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 23

I wanted to extend this brief letter, but my mind is confused by my adversities and my tongue is paralyzed. But do not consider this a grievance; because you know, my wise friend, that in times of suffering short letters are preferred to long ones. Besides, the souls of things are the circumstances. But may I see you with my own eyes, God willing, and we could then celebrate together.

May you enjoy good health and prosperity, climbing from glory to glory, remembering me and taking caring care of me.

## 86. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

Your discourse when it came from you – who are with honeyed sweetness more than the Pelian Nestor, “he from whose tongue flowed speech sweeter than honey”,<sup>34</sup> pleased me more than the honey of Hymettos, because it was woven with the help of Caliope and the Muses and the musician Apollo and the Logios Hermes. It was read many times and seemed more harmonious than the melodious Sirens. Be that as it may, I shared it with those that I knew were lovers of wise discourses and encomiasts of no-

34. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 21.

10 ἐπαινέτας, ἐκοινωσάμην· οἱ δ' ἐπιόντες ὑπερηγάσαντό τε καὶ  
ὑπερήσθησαν. ἤκει τοίνυν παῖς ὁ καλὸς παρὰ πατέρα τὸν  
κάλλιστον· καὶ βιώη μὲν ὁ πατήρ, γεννώη δὲ παῖδας ὠραίων  
ὠραιότερους καὶ τοὺς ὀρώντας εὐφραίνοντας.

<πζ'>

πς' Βασιλείῳ υἱῷ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέος

5 Οἷα μὲν δῶρα παιδείας, οἷα δ' ἔργα φιλίας καί, τό γε κρεῖτ-  
τον, ἄρρεποῦς γνώμης περὶ τὸ λῶν κατάστασις, ἃ δαιμονίως  
τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ παραπέφυκε. καὶ μὴν, τῆς παροιμίας παρεγ-  
γυμμένης διπλᾶ τὰ καλὰ, πολλαπλᾶ φύσις ἢ σὴ προσεξεύ-  
ρηκε, τοῦ περὶ πάντα σχεδὸν σχολάζοντος τὰ καλὰ καὶ καλοῖς  
ἐντετραμμένου πλεονεκτήμασιν, ὥσθ' ὑπερελάσαι μὲν Κλε-  
άνθην, παρελθεῖν δὲ τὸν τῆς παροιμίας Ἀρτέμωνα. |

p. 160

10 πάτερα LPdTheil || 12 εὐφραίνοντας LPdTheil

87. 5 διπλᾶ τὰ καλὰ: Plat. Leg. I, 631b διπλᾶ δὲ ἀγαθὰ ἐστίν, τὰ μὲν  
ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα; Theod. Dexius ep. 1 (191, 63 Polemis) || 7-8 Κλε-  
άνθην: cf. Diog. Laert. Vit. soph. VII, 170, 1 ὅθεν δὴ καὶ δεύτερος Ἡρακ-  
λῆς ὁ Κλεάνθης ἐκαλεῖτο || 8 τὸν τῆς παροιμίας Ἀρτέμωνα: cf. Anacreon  
fr. 27,2; 43,5; Lib. ep. 224, 1 (X 207, 14-15 Foerster) ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ  
παροιμίᾳ παρελθεῖν Ἀρτέμωνα; App. prov. 4, 32 (CPG I 441) ὁ περιφόρητος  
Ἀρτέμων; Salzmann 31

87. 1 κυρίου LPdTheil || 7 ἐντετραμμένου LPdTheil

bles; and reading it they were exceedingly pleased and gratified.  
Well then, your splendid child returns to its excellent father; and  
may the father live long and beget beautiful children (or rather  
more than beautiful) becoming a joy to the beholder.

87. To Basileios, the son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys

What gifts of learning, what works of friendship and, the most  
of all, what a steadfast opinion about goodness have been im-  
planted miraculously in your soul! And indeed, the proverb  
promises that "double are the good things", but your nature has  
provided you with even more: to be almost constantly con-  
cerned with good things, having been brought up with the best  
qualities, so that you can surpass Kleanthes and even be superior  
to the proverbial Artemon.

10 Ἔφησθα πενίας μὲν ἡρῆσθαι δεσμὰ λελυκέναι μοι,  
 δεδυνῆσθαι δὲ μή· καὶ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Δάφνης ἔραστής, παρὰ-  
 δειγμα, διώκων μὲν, οὐχ αἰρώων δὲ τὴν κόρη, ἔραστῇ συλ-  
 ληφθῆναι τὴν παῖδα τῆς μητρός ἀκολάστῳ μὴ συγχωρούσης.  
 εἶτα καὶ δεύτερον ἤγες παράδειγμα, τὸν Μυκηνῆθεν μὲν προ-  
 ελθόντα, Μυκηνῆσι δὲ κρατοῦντα μὴ χάριν εἰδέναι Πατρό-  
 15 κλῳ, θερμοῖς δάκρυσι τὸν Πηλέως περιαντλοῦντι ἀποθέμενον  
 τὴν μῆνιν πόλεμόνδ' ἐξιέναι, νηλεὲς ἤμαρ ἀμυνοῦντα τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν — ἐλέαιρε γὰρ τειρομένους —, μὴ δυνηθέντι δὲ  
 πείσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. καὶ μὴν Πάτροκλος ἦν ἔλαχε Σπάρταν  
 ἐκόσμει, Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ὃν πέττων θυμόν, πεττεύειν καὶ φορ-  
 20 μίζειν ἤρεϊτο μᾶλλον ἢ μαίνεσθαι πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ δόρυ· οὕτως  
 ἦν ἀτεγκτος, σχεδὸν Αἰδὴς ἀμείλιχος ἢ δ' ἀδάμαστος.

Ἄλλ', ὅπερ εἰρήσεται μοι, σοφὴ κεφαλὴ, οὐ τὸ μὴ δύνα-  
 σθαι δοῦναι, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη μὴ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴδὲν ἡρῆσθαι  
 δυνάμενον. τό γε μὴν ἡρῆσθαι, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, κρίνεται· ἂν  
 25 δύνασθαι, ἐπεὶ τοι δυνάμειος κρεῖττον προαίρεσις· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ παρὰ μόνη χειρὶ δόσις, ὅτι μὴ καὶ προθέσει μᾶλλον  
 ὀρίζεται. παρὰ σοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρων, τὸ μὲν κινοῦντι σαυτόν, τὸ  
 δὲ τὸν κοινὸν πατριάρχην, καὶ τροφὴν ὁποτέραν βούλει πα-  
 ρέχοντα. τοιαύτην ἡμῖν θαυμασίαν ἐξεῦρες ἀντιπελάργωσιν,

16 νηλεὲς — ἀμυνοῦντα: cf. Hom. Il. 11, 484 ἀμύνετο νηλεὲς ἤμαρ || 17  
 ἐλέαιρε — τειρομένους: Hom. 9, 302 || 18-19 ἔλαχε — ἐκόσμει: cf. adn. ad  
 ep. 46, 25-26 || 21 Αἰδὴς — ἀδάμαστος: Hom. Il. 9, 158 || 29 ἀντιπελάρ-  
 γωσιν: 25 cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7

18 σπάρταν ex σπάρτον corr P

You said that you have opted to free me from the bonds of  
 poverty but you have not been able to do it. And you brought up  
 the example of Apollo, the lover of Daphne, who pursued the girl  
 but could not catch her, because her mother did not allow the  
 girl to be caught by a licentious lover. Then you brought up a  
 second example, about the one originating from Mycenae, who  
 ruled among the Mycenaeans and was not grateful to Patroklos,  
 who shed warm tears upon the son of Peleus to put aside his  
 wrath and go out to fight and “ward off the pitiless day of  
 doom”<sup>35</sup> — for he took pity on them seeing them distressed — but  
 who nevertheless could not persuade Achilles. And Patroklos  
 “adorned the Sparta which fate had given him”, but Achilles  
 brooding in anger, chose to play draughts and play the lyre  
 rather than to be furiously occupied with his weapons and spear.  
 In this way he was not to be softened, almost a “Hades not to be  
 soothed, neither overcome”.<sup>36</sup>

But I shall say, my wise friend, that not to give, is not the  
 same as not to be able to give, but not to want at all to give. Be-  
 cause to want to but not be able to could mean to be able, for  
 greater than the power is the motivation. Giving is not even de-  
 fined as an act of hand alone, but rather as an act of intention.  
 Both of these are applied to you, the one to motivate yourself  
 and the other our common patriarch who can provide any kind  
 food he wishes. You have sought out for us, such a wonderful re-  
 turn of benefits (*antipelargosis*) so that the old man gets now

35. *Ibid.*, I, 517.

36. *Ibid.*, I, 393.

30 ὥστε παρσκευακέναι θᾶττον ἀνηβηκέναι τὸν γέροντα, οὐκ  
ἀποδράντα πῦρ καὶ λέβητα κατὰ Πέλοπα, ὅς, δαιτρευθεὶς τε  
καὶ βρασθεὶς, θοῖνῃ παρετέθη θεοῖς, εἴτ' ἀναβρασθεὶς ἀνεβίω  
καὶ πρὸς ἦβην τὴν προτέραν ἀνέδραμεν.

Ἐπάνειμι δὴ παρὰ τὴν Δάφνην αὐθὶς γε καὶ τὸ δόρυ, οὐκ  
35 ὅπερ Ἀχιλλεὺς κραδαίνων ἐθάμβει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅπερ  
θήγει λόγος πνευματικός καὶ Θεοῦ στιλβῶν δάκτυλος βεβή-  
λους ἀμυήτους δορύσσει, τετελεσμένους καὶ θεῖα περιέπων  
μεμυημένους· οὐδὲ Δάφνην, ἣν σείων ὁ Πύθιος Δωδωναίας  
δρυὸς ἑληρώδει χρηστήρια, ἀλλ' ἣ ποιητὴν ποτε δαφνηφάγον  
40 ἐξέθρεψε τε καὶ περιέστεψε. τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ σοι δόρυ, τοιαύτην  
Δάφνην | εὐξαίμην. σὺ δέ μοι τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων πτερὰ  
μὴ πρὸς ἀέρα συγχωρήσῃς ἐκπέτεσθαι· δέος γάρ, δέος μὴ,  
τῶν λογικῶν ἀτράκτων ἀπτέρων ἀφιμεμένων, πτερωτὰ βέλη  
πῆξῃ σιτοδεία κατὰ χρωτός.

45 Περὶ γε μὴν τῆς σῆς ἀρίστης ἐκφράσεως ἀριστίνδην καὶ  
τὴν ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκα, Αἰακοῦ μὴ δεόμενος. ἐπιὼν οὖν πολ-

31 λέβητα κατὰ Πέλοπα: cf. Lib. ep. 695, 5 (XI p. 630, 15-16 Foerster)  
δ καὶ περὶ τὸν Πέλοπα πείθομαι γενέσθαι μετὰ τὸν λέβητα || 37 δορύσσει:  
cf. Eust. Comm. II. N, 699, 7 (van der Valk) ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ δόρυ τὸ δορύσσειν ||  
39 ποιητὴν—δαφνηφάγον: cf. Comm. in Dion. Thrac. 316, 4 (Hilgard) οὐκ  
ἂν γὰρ εἴη τις τέλειος ποιητής, εἰ μὴ ἱστορήσει καὶ διηγήσεται καὶ μαντεύ-  
σασθαι || 43 λογικῶν ἀτράκτων: cf. Origen. Expos. in Proverbia (PG 17:252)  
Ἄτρακτός ἐστι νοῦς καθαρός, συμπλέκων ἀρετὴν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ δόγματι  
δόγμα· ἡ λόγος προφορικός, ἔλκων ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ πνευματικὴν θεωρίαν

45 ἐκφράσεως LPdTheil || 46 ἐξήνεγκας P

ready quickly to become young again, but not running away like  
Pelops from fire and cauldron, who, having been cut to pieces  
and boiled was offered as a meal to the Gods and then being  
boiled a second time lived again and regained his former youth.

But I return to Daphne and to the spear again – not to that  
spear which Achilles brandished, filling his enemies with terror,  
but the one the spiritual word sharpens and the shining finger  
of God strikes with spear the profane and uninitiated, and yet  
protects the initiate and the instructed in divine matters. Nor  
(do I mean) that Daphne, which the Pythios (Apollo) shaking to  
and fro the oak tree at Dodona pronounced oracular nonsense,  
but that one which brought up and once crowned an inspired  
poet (Hesiod). Such a spear and such a Daphne would I wish for  
you. For my sake, do not allow the wings of my good hopes to  
fly in the air; because there is fear, fear lest that as my rational  
arrows are discharged without wings, the famine will lodge in  
my flesh winged arrows.

Regarding your excellent *ekphrasis* I gave my approval on its  
merits without the need of Aiakos. Reading it many times I was  
gratified and thought it worthy of greater applause; so that it

λάκις αὐτὴν ὑπερήσθην καὶ κρότων βελτιόνων ἡξίωσα· ὡς δ' ἂν εἰδεῖεν καὶ πλείους, πλείοσιν ἐκοινωσάμην, ἵν' ἐκ πλείονων πλείους ἐρανίζονται κρότοι. καὶ λαμπρὰ μὲν ἐψήφιστο κύκνοις· κολοιῶν γὰρ νέφος ἄπῃν. γράφοις οὖν οὕτω καὶ τέρποις μὲν κύκνους, βάλλοις δὲ κολοιούς, αἱ κέν τοι φώως τοῖς τε-  
 50 θραυμένοις ἐν Ἑρμοῦ γένηαι.

πζ'

<πη>  
 Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἔστι μὲν ἐν μονάσιν ὁ ἕξ πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δεκάσιν ὁ εἰκοσιοκτὼ τέλειος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων μερῶν προσφυῶς συντιθεμένων συμπεραυνόμενος, ἔχων δὲ τι καὶ  
 5 μυστικὸν ἐνθεωρηθῆναι οἱ θεώρημα. τὸ πᾶν τόδ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἕξ ὑφέστηκε τῷ Θεῷ, ἐβδόμη δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τῆς εὐλογίας ἀπείληφεν. ὁ τοίνυν ἀριθμός οὗτος ἔστι τιμίον μὲν τιμιώτερος, σεπτοῦ δὲ σεπτότερος, ἅτε δὴ τὸν ἑπτὰ τετράκις ἐμπεριέχων, σεπτὸν καὶ τίμιον ὄντα καὶ τετράκις τὴν εὐλογίαν

50 κολοιῶν — νέφος: cf. Lib. ep. 1220 (301, 12 Foerster) ἡλθεν ἂν καὶ νέφος κολοιῶν || 51 κύκνους — κολοιούς: cf. Greg. Naz. ep. 114 (II 9, 6 Gal- lay) τότε ἄσσονται κύκνοι ὅταν κολοιοὶ σιωπήσωσιν || 51-52 αἱ κέν τοι φώως — γένηαι: Hom. Il. 8, 282

88. 1 ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 75 et 83

5 δ' (pro τόδ') LPdTheil

would be known by more people, I shared it with many, in order that it could receive greater applause from many more. And it was voted brilliantly by the swans, because the cloud of jackdaws was not present. May you continue then to write in this manner, delighting the swans and shooting the jackdaws, "if so be thou mayest prove a light of joy"<sup>37</sup> to the followers of Hermes.

### 88. To the Emperor

Among the single numbers, the first perfect number is six, and in the series of ten the perfect number is the twenty-eight, which is produced rightfully when added from the sum of its own parts, and which has in addition some mystical theoretical proposition in itself to be contemplated. This universe was created by God in six days and on the seventh it received the sign of His blessing. This number, twenty eight, is then more precious than precious, also more sacred than sacred, for it contains the number seven four times, which is also sacred and precious and has received the blessing four times. Therefore the four fruits of

37. Ibid., I, 359.



10 ἀπειληφότα. συμβολικῶς οὖν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀπὸ ροιᾶς ὀπωρῶν  
τετράς, ἐπτάκις διαπεμφθεῖσα τῇ κράτει σου, τὸ τῶν εὐχῶν  
ἡνίξατο τέλειον.

Ἔστι μοι δὲ καὶ λόγον ἑρεῖν ἕτερον. ἡ σοφία, οἶκον οἰκο-  
δομήσασα ἑαυτῇ, μυστικῶν ἐπτάδα στύλων ὑπῆρξεν· οὗτος  
15 γὰρ ἀριθμῶν μυστικώτατος, τὸ τῆς τριάδος καὶ τετράδος,  
Θεοῦ λέγω καὶ κόσμου, σκιωδῶς δημιουργοῦ καὶ δημιουρ-  
γήματος μυστήριον αἰνιττόμενος. ἑναργεῖς τῶν γνωμόνων  
εἰκόνες ἀναστηλωθεῖστές μοι, θειότατοι βασιλεῖς, ἀπὸ τριάδος  
ἐπὶ τετράδα προβαίνοντες, ὡς ἂν συμβασιλεύοντες τέτταρες  
20 τετράκις τοῖς ἐπταρίθμοις ὑπερηρισμένοι στύλοις τοῦ πνεύ-  
ματος τέλειον ἔμπνουν ἀναστηλώσῃτές μοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῇ  
παναλχεῖ Τριάδι φρουρούμενοι τὸ τετραμερές ἄρμα τῆς οἰ-  
κουμένης ὑφ' ἐνὶ τεθρίππῳ συζευζάντες.

<πθ'>

Τῷ βασιλεῖ |

Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης, εἴ τις ἄλλος,  
διδάσκαλος, τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου στόμα, ἡ τῶν θείων δογμάτων  
κρηπίς, «ἐλπίς», φησι, «βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς»· ἡνυ-

13-14 ἡ σοφία — ὑπῆρξεν: cf. Prov. 9: 1 Ἡ σοφία ὥκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ  
οἶκον, καὶ ὑπῆρξε στύλους ἐπτά

14 στύλων LPdTheil || 20 στύλεις LPdTheil

89. 4 ἐλπίς — ἐλπίς: Rom. 8: 24

pomegranate which I sent seven times to your majesty in a sym-  
bolic way signifies the perfection of blessing.

I have also another word to say. "Wisdom has built a house  
for herself, and set up seven sacred pillars". Among the num-  
bers, seven is the most sacred, signifying, I will say, the Trinity  
of God and the four parts of the world, and also the mystery of  
the creator and His creation symbolically. May you be estab-  
lished in a manifest form, my most sacred Emperors as icons of  
moral standards, advancing from three to four, so that the four  
reigning together and being supported by the seven pillars of  
the gifts of the Holy Spirit four times, may bring to life the num-  
ber four in a perfect manner, and being guarded by the all-pow-  
erful Trinity you shall have united the four-part chariot of the  
universe under the control of one four-horsed chariot.

## 89. To the Emperor

Paul, the great Apostle and teacher of the whole world – no man  
was greater – the mouthpiece of the Lord, the foundation of the  
divine dogmas, says "hope that is seen is not hope"; because

- 5     σται γάρ, ἡνυσμένη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος κατήργησεν. ἔγωγ' οὖν ὑπομονῆς ἱκανῶς ἔχω, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἣν ὠδινεν ἀγάπης ἔργα καὶ πίστεως· εἰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐλπίς, ἥ καταισχύνειν οὐκ οἶδε, μηκέτ' εἶην ἔργον προσδοκωμένης ἐλπίδος ἀλλ' ἡνυσμένης.

&lt;4&gt;

## Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

πθ'

- Ἐξ ὅτου πράγματος μετέληχέ τις εὐδαιμονίας δεῖ τιμᾶν τὸν εὐδαιμονίσαντα καὶ ταύτην εἰδέναι χάριν αὐτῷ τοὺς τῶν ὁμοίων δεομένους μὴ παρορᾶν, τῇ χρηστῇ δὲ συνιστᾶν δαί-  
 5     μονι· γίγναιτο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τὸ συμφέρον ἀμφοῖν, τῷ τε δίδοντι τῷ τε λαμβάνοντι. τίς οὖν ὁ λόγος; συνέστησαν σέ μὲν Ἑρμῇ Μοῦσαι, Ἑρμῆς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ, βασιλεὺς δὲ εὐδαιμονία. φίλος ὢν Ἑρμῇ τε καὶ Μούσαις, Ἑρμῆς δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτόχρημα (δέω γὰρ φάναι Καλλιόπης καὶ Μουσῶν γέννημα  
 10     καὶ τιθήνημα), ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμαϊκοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μουσικοὺς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τιθέμενος· λόγος γὰρ ἀπάντων κρατεῖ καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ λόγου τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδὲν ὃ γέγονε.

Τηλικούτου τοίνυν βασιλέως κρατοῦντος ἀνάγκη τοῦτον

7-8 ἡ – οἶδε: cf. Rom. 5: 5 ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ καταισχύνει

90. 9-10 γέννημα – τιθήνημα: cf. Ann. Comn. Alex. (I, 2, 5, 11 Rein-sch – Kambylis) || 12-13 διὰ Θεοῦ – γέγονε: cf. Joh. 1: 3

hope is won, and being fulfilled has abolished any reliance to hope. But I have enough endurance, your majesty, which was borne out of works of love and faith. If then hope results from works, and hope does not disappoint us, may it no longer be a work of hope expected but of hope fulfilled.

## 90. To the Grand Logothete

Anyone who has attained good fortune must honour his benefactor and in the same way must feel grateful to him, as also those that plead to attain the same and not to be overlooked, but to be introduced to the good fortune. It would thus be advantageous for both, to the giver as well as to the recipient. What is then the talk about? The Muses introduced you to Hermes, Hermes then to the Emperor, the Emperor to good fortune, the Emperor being a friend to Hermes and the Muses, even more being a veritable Hermes himself – I dare say born and bred by Calliope and the Muses. For this reason he places intellectuals and men of letters above all others, because learning (logos) rules over all and “through the Word of God all things were made, and without him was not anything made that was made”.

When an Emperor like him is reigning this must then be the

- 15 εἶναι τῆς εὐζωίας τὸν χρόνον, ὃν τις ὥρισε τῶν σοφῶν, ὅπου  
 ἂν ἡ φιλοσοφήσωσι βασιλεῖς ἢ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσι. νῦν  
 δ' ἄμφω, καὶ χρόνος ἄρ' οὗτος ὁ τῆς εὐζωίας κρατεῖ, μάλιστα  
 20 δὲ σοῦ συνιστάναι δυναμένου βασιλεῖ φιλοσόφῳ τοὺς Ἑρμῆν  
 θεραπεύοντας· ὃν εἰ μὴ κινοίης ἂν σειρῇσι λόγων σῶν ἐμμε-  
 λῶν, αὐτοκίνητον καὶ ταῦτα τυγχάνοντα, πάντως ἂν ἀδι-  
 κοίης, ταῦτόν δ' ἔρεῖν Ἑρμῆν τε καὶ Μούσας, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ  
 μᾶλλον αὐτήν, ἢ παρὰ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκεῖ κεφαλῇ. ἦν εἰ  
 νύξαις μόνον ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ βασιλέα πεί-  
 25 σει, πατέρα τὸν σφέτερον, ἓνα με φῆναι τῶν εὐδαιμόνων θε-  
 ραπόντων Ἑρμοῦ λογίου καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν.

&lt;4α&gt;

Τῷ κανικλείου

Ἀφιγμένον τὸν λόγον – ἐκέλευσας γάρ – ἀνέγνωμεν – μεθ'  
 ὅσης οἶει σπουδῆς; – καὶ τεθήπαμεν· ὠφείλετο γάρ τῇ τε τοῦ  
 πεπομπούτος προθέσει τῷ τε | κάλλει τοῦ λόγου καὶ ῥυθμῷ

p. 163

15-16 τῆς εὐζωίας – βασιλεύσωσι: cf. Agap. Diac. Capit. admon. (36, 8-10 R. Riedinger) ἐφ' ὧν ἀνεδείχθη τῆς εὐζωίας ὁ χρόνος, ὃν προεῖπέ τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἔσεσθαι, ὅταν ἡ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἢ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν || 16 ἡ φιλοσοφήσωσι – βασιλεύσωσι: cf. Plat. Resp. E' 473c ἡ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι || 23 ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ: cf. Zenob. 1, 61 (CPG I 24); Karathanasis 57-58

time of having a good life, which one of the philosophers defined as the period when the kings will become philosophers or the philosophers kings. Now we have both, good life prevails at this time, especially when you are in a position to introduce the servants of Hermes to a philosopher king. If you would not motivate him to this purpose with the eloquence of your harmonious speech, – actually he has no need to be motivated – you would certainly do an injustice, that is to say to Hermes and the Muses, even more to Athena herself, who abides by the head of the Emperor. If you would only point her with the tip of your finger, she cannot but persuade the Emperor, her own father, to declare me one of the fortunate servants of the Logios Hermes and the Muses.

## 91. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

When your discourse arrived – as you ordered – we read it, can you imagine how fast? – and were amazed. It was because of the sender's good intention, the grace of his language and rhythm,

5 καὶ συνθήκη καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἦσε δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐμφερεῖς τὰς ἐκείνων φέρων εἰκόνας καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαρallάκτους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ὡς ἀκηλίδωτον ἔσοπτρον.

Τετύχηκεν οὖν κρότων, ἐγκωμίων, ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ὁσάττα πρὸς εὐφημίαν ἀρμόττουσι. κεκοίνωται δὲ καὶ τοῖς 10 ὅσους ἐραστὰς θερμούς ἦδεν τῶν σῶν λόγων. εἰ δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς δὴ περιῆν ὁ θεόπτης — ἐξείχετο γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῶν ἐκείνου κατάρκας —, ὑπερηγάσας ἂν τῆς μεγαλονοίας, τῆς μεγαλοφυΐας, τῶν ἀναντιρρήτων ἀποδείξεων τε καὶ πίστεων. εἰ δὲ 15 καὶ τῶν θύραθεν τινες ἦσαν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς Μωσέως θεσπίσμασι καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐπεισθῆσαν δόγμασιν — οἶμαι γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἀμφοῖν ἂν συνηγορήκεσαν —, ἀλλὰ γε τῶν σῶν, Ἑλληνισμοῦ λέγω, γλώττης μεθόδων, ἐπιχειρημάτων σοφιστικῶν, σχημάτων φιλοσόφων, ὀργίων τε μυστικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν ἐπιστάσεων, 20 ἅπερ ἐπανθεῖ τῷ λειμῶνι τῆς γλώττης σου, ἡττηθέντες μετ' αἰσχύνης ἀπῆσαν.

Ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον καὶ λιπαρὸν γῆρας παραμεινείας· εἴης γὰρ ἂν ὄφελος μέγα τῷ βίῳ, λόγοις θείοις ἐμπρέπων πειθοῖ τε καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ φυσικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι, λόγων 25 τε παντοίων ἰδέαις καὶ παντοδαπαῖς ἀρεταῖς σεμνυνόμενος.

91. 7-8 ἀκηλίδωτον ἔσοπτρον: Sap. 7: 26 || 22-23 λιπαρὸν — παραμεινείας: cf. Hom. Od. 19, 367-368 ἵκοιο γῆρας τε λιπαρόν; Synes. ep. 9 (29, 1 Garzya 29) βαθύ σε γῆρας καὶ λιπαρὸν περιμεινείειν

5 post δ' erasum quid repetitur || 9-10 ὁσάττα P || 12 δὴ] om. LPdTheil || 15 καὶ P

his composition and the grandeur of his thoughts. The work charmed us no less than "its brothers" (the others) we have received, because it bears similar traits and precisely identical characteristics to those of the father, just like a spotless mirror.

It received applause, encomia, praises and the like that befit a work worthy of honour. It has also been made known to those I knew were ardent lovers of your orations. If Moses, who has seen God, would be around — for the discourse adhered to his deeds entirely — he would have been exceedingly pleased with its elevation of thought, its lofty genius and its undeniable proofs and arguments. Even if some pagans were present and were neither convinced by Moses' laws nor by your beliefs — I think that they would support neither of you — in the end they would be defeated, departing in shame, on account of your gifts, I mean your Hellenism, your rhetorical devices, the sophistic arguments, the philosophical syllogisms, the mysteries of philosophy, your physical observations, all of which abound in the meadow of your tongue.

But may a long and comfortable old age await you; a great boon you were to us in life, distinguished for your sacred discourses, their power of persuasion, your philosophy and demonstrations from the physical world, and exalted for the literary forms of your numerous compositions and for all your other virtues.

4α'

<4β'>  
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

- Πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς, παροιμία φησί, καὶ ταῦθ' ἦρωις το-  
σοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτους ἄθλους κατωρθωκώς. ἐγὼ δέ, πολλο-  
στημόριον ὦν Ἡρακλέους, πῶς ἂν δυοῖν θηρίων ἐξωλεσάτοιν  
5 μαχοίμην, πενία καὶ [ἵππῳ]; τῇ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπειοικυία χιμαί-  
ρας, τριφυοῦς ἀλλοκότου θηρίου, περὶ ἧς Ὅμηρος ἐρρα-  
ψώδησε,  
    πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα·  
    (πενία δ' ἄντι τούτων τὸ δάκνειν τε καὶ λεπτύνειν καὶ κατεσθίειν  
10 τὰ τε ἔόντα τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἔόντα  
καὶ τῇ τριμερείᾳ τοῦ βίου λυμαίνεσθαι). ὁ δ' ἵππος, ἐπειδὴ  
μηδὲν ἐπτέρωται κατὰ Πήγασον μήτε σκιρτᾶν εἰς ἀέρα με-  
μάθηκε μήτ' οὖν ἀνθερίκεσσι θέειν ἐπ' ἄκροισι διδάχθ[εις],  
ὥς οἱ τὴν σειρὰν τοῦ γένους ἀπὸ Βορέου πρότερον ἔλκοντες,  
15 [ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ] φάτνης κενὸς πηγεσίμαλλός τε καὶ πεπηγὼς

92. 1 ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 2 || 2 Πρὸς — Ἡρακλῆς: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 3 || 4 δυοῖν — ἐξωλεσάτοιν: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 442 || 8 πρόσθε — χί-  
μαιρα: Hom. Il. 6, 181 || 10 τὰ τε — τ' ἔόντα: Hom. Il. 1, 70 || 11 τριμερεία  
τοῦ βίου: cf. Mich. Psel. Poemata 10 (234, 7-8 Westerink) ψυχῆς δὲ τρι-  
μέρεια ... θυμός, λόγος πάθος τε || 13 ἀνθερίκεσσι — ἄκροισι: cf. Hom. Il.  
20, 226 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον

5 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 11 || 13 supplevimus || διδάχθη suppl  
LPdTheil || 15 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 19

## 92. To the Emperor

Even Heracles was not a match for two, the proverb says, despite the fact that he was a most valiant hero, having accomplished so many and such great struggles. But I, who am but a fraction of Heracles, how could I fight against two abominable beasts, my poverty and my horse? The first one does not differ at all from the she-goat, a strange beast of threefold nature, about which Homer recited "in the fore part a lion, in the hinder a serpent, and in the midst a goat";<sup>38</sup> but instead of these, poverty can bite, beat to dust and devour "all things that were, and that were to be, and that had been before",<sup>39</sup> ruining the tripartite division of man's life. On the other hand, because my horse has not been provided with wings like Pegasus, nor learned to spring in the air nor to run over the topmost ears of ripened corn, like those that trace the line of their ancestry to Boreas, he stands at the manger hungry, with thick hair like a sheep, stuck on the ground

38. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 275.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 9.

p. 164

[καὶ σφοδροῦ βορέου δε]όμενος, ἐφ' ὥπερ κουφισθεὶς κινη-  
θῆναι, | τούτῳ μόνῳ Πηγάσῳ προσεικώς, [τῷ] γυμνὸν ἐπι-  
νώτων με φέρειν καθὰ Βελλεροφόντην ὁ Πήγασος, [κατε-  
σπαθη]κώς μὲν ἅπαντά μοι βίον, ἐ[πανατεινό]μενος δὲ καὶ  
20 σάρκα καὶ αὐτοῖς ὀστέοις σπαράξειν καὶ κυνηδὸν λα[φύξειν] τὴν  
ἐντὸς οἰκονομίαν τῆς φύσεως.

Πρὸς οὖν πενίαν, τὴν [γε πολυ]κάρηνον ὕδραν, οὐθ' Ἡρα-  
κλέους οὔτε μολὶβδου οὔτ' οὖν Ἰόλεω δεῖ, ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ  
χρυσίου καὶ βασιλέως, τοῦ πρὸς ἅπαν ἄπορον ποριμωτάτου  
25 καὶ μόνου τηλικούτων θηρίων ἐπισταμένου κατασοφίζεσθαι  
καὶ τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας δεινῶν ἀπαλλάττειν.

18 Βελλεροφόντην ὁ Πήγασος: cf. Zenob. 2, 87 (CPG I 54, 22-23)  
Ἄναβας οὖν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐπὶ τὸν Πήγασον, ὃν εἶχε ἵππον πτηνόν, κα-  
τεξότευσε τὴν Χίμαιραν || 20-21 σάρκα — φύσεως: cf. Irenaeus haer. PG  
7/2: 1126B τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, τῆς ἐκ σαρκῶν καὶ  
νεύρων καὶ ὀστέων συνεστῶσης || 22 πολυκάρηνον ὕδραν: cf. Aesch. Prom.  
354-355 τέρας, ἑκατογκάρηνον | Nic. Chon. Orat. 11 (111, 13 van Dielen)  
καὶ ὡς Ὑδραν Ἡρακλῆς πολυκάρηνον

16 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 22, qui post πεπηγώς vocem ἀντικρυς  
inseruit || ἐφ' ὥπερ P || 17 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 23 || 18-19 suppl LPdTheil  
coll ep. 2, 25 || 19 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 27 || 20 suppl LPdTheil coll  
ep. 2, 27 || 22 supplevimus [ἐκατογ]κάρηνον suppl LPdTheil || 25 σοφίζεσθαι  
LPdTheil

outright, in need of a violent north wind to be blown and thus  
move, only in this respect is he like Pegasus, that he carries me  
as a rider naked on his back, as Pegasus carried Bellerophon,  
having wasted my whole livelihood, threatening to tear to pieces  
my flesh and bones and like a dog devour my whole physical ex-  
istence.

And so against poverty, the hundred-headed Hydra, one  
needs neither Heracles nor lead not even the help of Iolaos, but  
silver, gold, and the Emperor, who is most resourceful in every  
difficulty and the only one who knows how to deal with such  
beasts and deliver those in danger from their suffering.

4β'

&lt;4γ&gt;

Τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Γλυκέος πατριάρχου

Ἐγώ, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀναλωκώς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδεύειν νέους καὶ  
 μηδὲν τῆς ἐπαράτου ταύτης λειτουργίας ὀνόμενος, δεῖν ὠήθη  
 ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν βίῳ τοιῷδε, συντάξασθαι δὲ Θεῷ διὰ πο-  
 5 λιτείας βελτίονος. ἀλλὰ τὸ δεινὸν δαιμόνιον φθόνον ἔσχε καὶ  
 τούτῳ καὶ λαιῶς μοι τὸν κύβον πεπέττευκε· καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ  
 ζυγῷ δουλείας καταδεδίκασμαι, βασιλέως ἔτι παιδεύειν νέους  
 προστάσσοντος. δεηθεὶς οὖν τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων  
 ἀποσιτίξεσθαι, βασιλεὺς κατένευσε κεφαλῇ. δεῖ δὴ τοῦ πρὸς  
 10 ἔργον ἐκ[βῆ]ναι κινήσοντος τὴν κατάνευσιν. τίς δὲ τοῦ πα-  
 τριάρχου γένοιτ' ἂν δικαιότερος, ὅτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων  
 μέλει τῶν λόγων; δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὃς ἂν ὠ[ξῆ] τὸν πατριάρχην.  
 οὗτος δ' ἂν γένοιο σύ, τὸν τε πατριάρχην φιλῶν – [υἱὸς] γάρ  
 – [καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ] πατριάρχου φιλούμενος – πατὴρ γάρ – καὶ με-  
 15 στέργων τὸν π[αιδευτὴν, παρ' ᾧ] μετέσχες παιδείας. οὐκοῦν  
 πείθων εἷης· δύνη καὶ γ[άρ] ... ἀκ[ούσαις] ἡδέως· ἀνδράρια  
 πάλαι ποτὲ συνήθη μοι προσιόντα – οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς  
 ὅτου κεκινημένα, προσιόντα δ' οὖν – ἀρχῆς ἀπ' ἄκρας θωπεί-  
 20 «οἷον ἐπαιδεύσας φοιτητὴν», σὲ δὴπου λέγοντα, «ὃς καὶ νῦν

93. 6 λαιῶς – πεπέττευκε: cf. Theod. Prodr. Carm. hist. 72 (p. 523, 24-25 Hörandner) ἀλλ' ὁ πικρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης κύβος λαιῶς ἐνεχθεὶς

10 suppl LPdTheil || 12 supplevimus auctore LPdTheil, qui ὠ[ξῆ]i  
 suppl; cetera supplevimus

## 93. To the son of the Patriarch Glykys

I have spent so much time teaching the youth and have gained nothing from this accursed service, therefore I thought that I should take leave of this kind of life and be united with God for a better way of life. But the terrible evil spirit envied me also in this endeavor and threw the dice on my left side. And again I have been condemned under the yoke of slavery, as the Emperor has ordered me still to educate the youth. I have requested accordingly to be sustained by the imperial treasury and the Emperor consented by nodding his head. But someone must take the step and put consent into action. For who would be more appropriate than the patriarch, who has an interest in education more than others? But someone is needed who would prompt the patriarch. This person could be you, who loves the patriarch – because you are his son – and are loved by the patriarch – because he is your father – and also because you feel affection for me, your teacher, who educated you. Surely you would be convincing, because you can do it.

What I have to say next will not please you to hear. Some pitiful fellows that were once acquainted with me approached me, I know not whence and with what motive. Coming up to me, from the very start they began to flatter me ironically, saying “you have made a good fortune, having taught such a student”, implying, somehow, you, and saying “who shall now make you

πλουτίσει καὶ γῆραι βοσκήσει σε», τοιαῦτά τε πλείω ληροῦν-  
 τα καὶ μακαρίαν ἐμὲ κενὴν μακαρίζοντα. ἐγὼ δέ, τοῦ δόλου  
 σ[υν]εῖς καὶ μηδὲν εἰπὼν, κενούς κενῶς ἀποπέμπω. [.....]  
 25 μηδὲν ἐρυθρίασαντ' ἀφίκοιντο. βύσον το[ίνυν τῶν ἀνδραρίων]  
 τὰ στόματα· βύσαις δ' ἄν, ἦν τὸν πατριάρχην [κινήσης .....  
 .....]

22 μακαρίαν – κενήν: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 20

21 σὲ LPdTheil || 24 ἀφίκοιντο LPdTheil || 25 explicit codex mutilus

rich and feed you in old age"? They talked such nonsense and even more and pronouncing me happy for my empty bliss. But realizing their deceit and saying nothing, I sent them away empty-handed and to no purpose ..... not blushing from shame at all they arrived. Therefore shut the mouths of these pitiful fellows; you would silence them, if the patriarch.....



COMMENTARY

Epist. 1

15    *Νυνὶ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας ἐληλακώς*: In several letters Hyrtakenos complained that his life had become unbearable because he was plagued by old age and poverty on account of which he appealed for help to former students (Phokas, Epist. 10; Loukites Epist. 37 and 41, Basileios Glykys Epist. 67, Alexios Apokaukos Epist. 69) and government officials (Epist. 43 and 63). If we accept at face value his assertion that he was a friend in his youth of Konstantinos Akropolites and that he had pledged to Georgios Akropolites before he died in 1282 to maintain an everlasting friendship with his son and consider the composition of his funeral oration for Nikephoros Choumnos in 1327 as a more or less secure date then the time span of these two chronologies yield a period of 45 years. Assuming that the promise he gave to Akropolites took place in his youth then the year of his birth cannot be placed later than the sixties of the thirteen century. But again this hypothesis does not help to propose an approximate date

for the letters in which he bemoans (seriously or not it is irrelevant) his old age and poverty.

16-17 συνίσχημαι δὲ σιτοδεία: More than one third of Hyrtakenos correspondence deals with his claim for a *siteresion* for his services as a teacher. For it is well known that those who taught and were in the service of the State normally received besides grants of money a year's allowance of grain in kind. In a series of letters addressed to the Emperor (Epist. 2; 33, 34 53), the grand logothete (Epist. 8; 9; 36, 39, 65) and to influential former students (Epist. 10; 60, 87) Hyrtakenos asked for a supply of grain or barley describing his needs and poverty in a dramatic way and at times in a somewhat humorous way also the misery of his starving horse which in its despair threatened to devour him (Epist. 2; 6-7; 9-10; 28-30; 92). The chronology and the circumstances under which these letters were written cannot be established since they do not provide any concrete hints. His overall poverty and pleas for grain may be unrealistic. On the other hand, they seem to underline his constant financial insecurity: νυνὶ δέ, γηπονίας ἀπούσης, τοῦτο δὴ σιτοδεία, τὸ πάντων θηρίων παραπέφυκεν ἐξωλέστατον, καὶ οἷα γαῦρος ταῦρος καταμυκάται τε καὶ καταμωκάται μου (Epist. 1, 20-22).

26-27 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος, ὃ με συμπαθῶς ἐδωρήσω: The horse Hyrtakenos was given by the Emperor is mentioned in a letter to Choumnos (Epist. 6,17 and 7,28) and to Metochites (Epist. 9,23) and becomes a topic always in connection with his poverty in several other (Epist. 2,8 to the Em-

peror; 7,20 to Choumnos; 10,6 to Phokas; 28,3 to Choumnos; 29,18 and 30,9-10 to Bardales). They actually form a cluster and probably belong in the same period. The view that they were written at a latter period than Epist. 15, which Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228-229, places around the year 1310, is based on a rather false assumption. This letter in fact should be dated after 1328. Consequently the chronology of the above mentioned group remains open to discussion. Cf. the commentary on Epist. 15.

33 κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Γλαύκου ἐχμέμηνεν: Glaukos of Potniae was devoured by his horses at the funeral games for Pelias. The story may go back to Aeschylus' lost tragedy Glaukos Potnieus (TrGF 3. 148-58); cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 468. The theme of Glaukos is employed also in Epist. 7,28; 9,29; 28,8 in connection with Hyrtakenos's starving horse.

Epist. 2

3-4 πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς, παροιμία φησί: Cf. also Epist. 92 which is a duplicate of this letter – perhaps a first draft.

Epist. 3

4-7 προσιόντα με τὴν πρώτην κλῆμαξ εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ προτεμενίσματος – ἡ θύρα μοχλοῖς καὶ ὀχεῦσι σιδηροῖς ἐπεζύγωτο: The text of Epist. 3-4 does not specify the location of the patriarchal residence. In the period under consideration it has been proposed that it was housed in the compound of the Church of Saint Theophylact, where it is known that

in the past decades there were convened a series of Synods and some of the Patriarch's resided there.<sup>1</sup> In his first attempt to visit the Patriarch Hyrtakenos came up to the stairs of the front building, but he found the gate closed and had to wait outside together with the beggars. At vespers the gate was open, but the way leading the Patriarch was again closed. At his second visit two weeks later the first gates of the church were closed, but someone indicated to him to go to a wooden gate which led to the Patriarch's residence, yet the gate keeper closed it at Hyrtakenos' face.

#### Epist. 5

**14-15** εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους προφθὰς αἰτῶ λαβεῖν πρῶτος, θαῦμα γ' οὐδέν: Hyrtakenos' intellectual pursuits and interests occupy only a small part of his correspondence, but nevertheless the few available pieces of evidence illustrate to some extent his contacts. Like most of his contemporaries he borrowed manuscripts for reading or copying as this letter suggests. The work he requested is not specified in the text, but it was most likely the *Περὶ Ψυχῆς* philosophical treatise of Choumnos in which he had attacked the views of Plato and Plotin (PG 140, 1403-1438); cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1978, 690. The next two letters addressed as

1. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς», 344-347. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III, *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, 246.

well to Choumnos (Epist. 6-7) deal also with his discourse "On the Soul", which Hyrtakenos heard during a reading session where it was presented for the first time (Epist. 6, 2-3). Complying with his request Choumnos sent him a copy of his treatise, but Hyrtakenos kept it longer than it was probably agreed prompting a complaint on Choumnos' part (Epist. 6, 12-13). The date of the composition "On the Soul" has not been yet established, yet Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, p. 55 dated it in the period 1315-1317. Without excluding this possibility, it should be pointed out that his supposition is nowhere documented. Be that as it may, Hyrtakenos appears to have been close to Choumnos (at least for a certain period of time) because he receive from him his discourses on two different occasions (cf. Epist. 86 and 91).

#### Epist. 7

**26-27** Σιμόεις – tributary of the Skamandros river in Troy, at the plain of which were fought the battles for its conquest; Hom. *Il.* 4, 475.

#### Epist. 8

**30-32** ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν χρυσῆτιν γῆν ἐμετάλλευον – περιεργεόμεν ἄν ἄργυροῖς τε καὶ χρυσίοις: The envy of the impoverished intellectual towards the comfortable life that leads an artisan who works with his hands is a topos; cf., for instance, the "Dramation" of Michael Hapluchair in P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis", Byz 39

(1969) 251-283. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 69-70.

- 39-43 Ἴν' οὖν μὴ λιμοῦ θάττον ἔργον γενοίμεθα — ἴν' εὐθέως δοκοῖμεν ἂν διαχονικοὶ καὶ κοιλίας ἡμετέρας θεραπευταί, ταῦτ' αὖ δρῶντες τῷ τῆς κωμωδίας Ἑρμῇ: Hyrtakenos alludes to Aristophanes' *Pluto* 1168sq. Remarkably he cited in his letters mostly excerpts from *Pluto* which was the most widely read of Aristophanes' works after the *Clouds*. Aristophanes was read in the school because of his ethical precepts which he conveyed hidden in his mockery and sarcasm and there is good reason to believe that Hyrtakenos included some Aristophanic texts in his curriculum. For the editions and scholia of Aristophanes during the Palaeologan period, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II 71-75; J.W. Koster, "Aristophane dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue des études grecques* 76 (1963) 393ff.

#### Epist. 10

- 5-7 τὸ τῷ γῆρ' καταπίπτον ὑπάνεχε τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν: Hyrtakenos employed the topos of *antipelargosis* in a series of letters addressed to former students (Epist. 60, 78, 87). However, as a topos signifying the retribution for benefits received, it appears rather rarely in epistolographical texts; cf. Epist. 117, 20 of Michael Choniates, Kolovou 196.

#### Epist. 11

- 4-5 οὗτος δὲ Χωνιάτης — βίβλον Ἀριστοτέλους τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου πέπομφε: Hyrtakenos seems to have procured for Metochites the Aristotle manuscript in the possession of the unknown otherwise Choniates (PLP 31233) with the understanding that it was given on temporary loan: σοῦ μὲν ἡτηχότος, ἐμοῦ δὲ κεκομικότος. Fearing that his manuscript may be not returned, Choniates proposed to sell it, using as a pretext his poverty. We do not know the value of manuscripts during this period. N. G. Wilson has remarked that "the supply of books is reflected in the prices they fetched [and they] were high in relation to the salaries of civil servants, who were probably an important section of the reading public"; cf. "Books and Readers in Byzantium", *Byzantine Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, Washington, D.C. 1975, 3. Indicative however for the book trade and by extension the price of a manuscript is the great number of works copied in the early Palaeologan period; cf. the excellent discussion of the subject by H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit", *JÖBG* 8 (1959) 123-155, esp. 138ff; *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, Munich 1989, 40-42.

#### Epist. 13

- 2 ἥσας, οἷς ἐπεπόμφεις: Hyrtakenos received from the Protos of Mount Athos in addition to olive oil and saffron, wooden pestles. Michael Choniates had received as a gift

also two pestles from the abbot of the monastery of Kynegos ton Philosophon; Epist. 120, 10-12, Kolovou, 200. For gifts mentioned in Byzantine letters cf. A. Karpozilos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography", BZ 77 (1984) 20-37; 88 (1995) 68-84, where the sending or receipt of olive oil, saffron and pestles are recorded.

#### Epist. 14

- 4 τὰς ἐμὰς ἐρνεᾶσαι συκαῖς: The *Geoponica* prescribe that the hanging of the fruit-bearing branches of the wild fig (ἐρνεὸς) near the cultivated fig trees in order to mature their fruit should be carried during the month of June: τούτῳ τῷ μηνὶ ἐν ταῖς συκαῖς τοὺς δλύνθους καὶ τὰ ἐρνεᾶ κρεμάσομεν. *Geoponica* 3, 6, 4, (Beckh 94, 11-12). Cf. also Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 557b, 28 (Bekker). Hyrtakenos forms an infinitive ἐρνεᾶσαι from the unattested verb ἐρνεάζω – but this could be explained as simply a scribal mistake – instead of the standard verb ἐρινάζω.

#### Epist. 15

Fatouros considered this letter to be one of the earliest in the collection because Hyrtakenos requested from the recipient an Albanian horse and as it is evident from other letters he had made the same request about a horse to the Emperor. On this ground, he identified the recipient with a cousin of the Emperor Andronikos II, Palaiologos Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos (PLP 21439), who died sometime after 1310. Yet, it is more probable that Hyrtakenos

addressed his letter to the protovestiarios Palaiologos Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas, cousin of Andronikos III, who was governor of Belegarda/ Berat in the region of Albania and died in Prilap in the year 1328 (PLP 21435). Consequently the letter must be dated considerably later. If this supposition proves correct then the letter must have been written during the reign of Andronikos III because in the inscription the addressee is called cousin of the Emperor (Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαδέλφῳ) being implied Andronikos III.

2-9

Ἦν μὲν, ὥς λόγος – ἐπωνυμίαν ἄφεις τῷ πελάγει: The flight of Daedalus and his son Icarus became a standard topos in letter writing – oh that I had wings to fly like a dove and come near you! – but in this case Hyrtakenos chose to expand his theme with a few more inferences (about Minos and Pasiphae and then Sappho) in order to provide the framework of the fantastic flight of the ancient inventor. The same theme Hyrtakenos used and in a letter to Konstantinos Loukites (Epist. 40, 2-5), paraphrasing in essence the first part of his original version. For this epistolographical topos, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 227.

49

ἵππου τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ: An Albanian horse was obviously considered to be of a special breed. Theodore II Laskaris gave to his minister, Georgios Mouzalon, an Ἀλβανὸν ἵππον brought from Epidamnus, which he considered "an excellent gift appropriate for an excellent man" (Epist. 203, 5, 9, Festa, 250). Cf. A. Karpozilos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography", BZ 88 (1995) 69.

## Epist. 16

- 6-8 *περὶ γῆς ἐργασίαν τετράμην — τὴν λύτταν τῆς γαστροῦς ἀναστέλλοιμι*: Hyrtakenos mentions in other letters as well his resolve of changing his teaching profession because of the financial problems he was facing (cf. Epist. 64, 93). On this occasion, he recounts his failed venture to become a farmer and how his land estate was lost in an earthquake. But he had hoped through the mediation of Theodoros Metochites (in his capacity of *megas logothetes*?) to obtain land property away from the scene of destruction. The date and the facts of the letter cannot be established. He nevertheless turned for help to Metochites again during a land survey and distribution of *pronoia* holdings in the region of Nymphaion (cf. Epist. 20). We do not know whether he managed to acquire land in this manner or whether his attempt to obtain monastic property as a *charistikion* around Kyzikos through the mediation of Basileios Glykys, the son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (cf. Epist. 67), was successful.

## Epist. 17

- 12 Ἄλλ' ἦν, σοῦ τὴν βασιλέως ἐρυθροδόχην ἀναπετάσαντος: The word ἐρυθροδόχη used by Hyrtakenos to designate the inkwell which contained the purple ink for signing imperial documents appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. The common name for inkwell is μελανδόχη or μελανδόχον πυξίδιον as in Tzetzes, Epist. 39,9; 80,6 Leone, 57; 119. Hunger,

*Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, 86, proposes the word κανίκλειον for inkwell; cf. however the discussion of this term by F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, 50-52.

## Epist. 18

- 7-9 *πεμφθήτω δὴ φιλοπονώτερον γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεῖς — θαυμάσθήσεται*: The subject of the letter is about a newly composed work of Metochites (unspecified, however)<sup>2</sup> which Hyrtakenos heard delivered during a reading session and wanted to borrow – a gesture that probably would have pleased the grand logothete or so he thought.

## Epist. 19

The identity of the undisciplined student of Hyrtakenos cannot be ascertained. G. Fatouros identified him with Demetrios Metochites (PLP 17980), a young supporter of Andronikos III who became in 1326 governor of Stroumitza and on the basis of his young age and appointment to this office he dated the letter before 1312; cf. "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 221-222, 230.

- 2 *ἔδει μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμὲ παρῆναι*: Hyrtakenos employs a well

2. I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Bruxelles 1962, 112, n. 2 supposed that the work which Hyrtakenos requested was probably the newly composed Introduction to Astronomy of Metochites.

known topos in letter writing having in mind probably the beginning of Saint Basil's Epist. 269 (III 139 Courtonne: τὸ μὲν ἀκόλουθον ἦν καὶ θφειλόμενόν σου τῇ διαθέσει ἡμῶς αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι). For the theory of friendship and this particular topos that, although away from his friend, the epistolographer is still with him spiritually, and that time and distance cannot affect their bond, cf. G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l' épistolographie byzantine*, Uppsala 1959, 34ff. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 226.

#### Epist. 20

The letter is one of the few sources that mention the process of conferring a conditional grant of the revenues derived from land property (*pronoia*) in the fourteenth century. The location of Nymphae cannot be ascertained and Nymphaion of Lydia in western Asia Minor comes into consideration only before it fell to the Turks in 1315. The inspection of the land holdings was carried by a fiscal official whom Hyrtakenos called μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς and further down καθηγεμὼν τῆς ἱερᾶς γεωδαισίας, synonyms perhaps of the office of μέγας λογαριαστής (controller of expenses). I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time", in P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, Princeton 1975, 27-28, assumed that by the μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς Hyrtakenos implied the *megas logothetes* Theodoros Metochites, who is known to have sold land grants. For a discussion of the letter and

the meaning of ἐπίσκεψις (inspection of land property) and οἰκονομία (a synonym of *pronoia*), see M.C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, 356, 358.

#### Epist. 21

2 τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ Βαραγκάτῳ: He was expelled from his homeland by the barbarians and found refuge and employment as a practitioner of medicine in Constantinople (PLP 2148). Perhaps to be identified with Βαραγύτης Μιχαήλ, author of a short treatise on medicine and philosophy (PLP 2153).

#### Epist. 22

2 Οὐδὲν Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἄρει κοινόν: Hyrtakenos builds up his argument by making a contrast between the god of war Ares and Hermes his patron, the god of learning. The same topos is employed in a different context also by Maximos Planudes: Φῆς γὰρ θεομηνίαν τοῦτ' ἂν εἶναι καὶ ὄλεθρον, εἴ γε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις συνέσται. Καὶ συνάψει τῷ Ἄρει καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ δυστυχήσει τὸ μέγα τοῦτο δυστύχημα. Maximus Planudes, Epist. 99, 13.

But was Hyrtakenos serious about his draft and his petition to be exempted from military service? That he should be freed of his duty because he was obliged to serve under an uncivilized decurion is not at all convincing – unless he purposely gave a twist to his story to sound like a farce. In Constantinople the paramilitary guard

service was performed by civilians who were organized by neighborhood under a *demarchos* (ODB I, 602-603). Hyrtakenos was obviously required to undertake guard service against his will, because, as he pleads, he was taken away from his scholarly pursuits at the command of a *demarchos*. The letter must date from an early period since he does not bring as a pretext his age. The text has not been discussed before save for a brief note by M.C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society*, 1204-1453, Philadelphia 1992, 254. Cf. K.-P. Matschke, "Rolle und Aufgaben der Demarchen in der spätbyzantinischen Hauptstadt", *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel*, Hamburg 2008, 153-187, esp. 167 n. 60. The *δήμαρχοι* were not representatives of the demes, but executive organs of the ruling class.

6 *δεκάρχους*: In the *Sylloge Tacticorum*, ed. A. Dain, Paris 1938, 13, *δέκαρχος* δὲ καλεῖται οὐχ ὁ δέκα ἄρχων ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν δέκα πρῶτος· δέκα γὰρ ὄντων ὁ εἷς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχει ἐννέα.

8-9 κύβων — τηλιῶν: ἔστιν καὶ ἡ σάνις τῶν κύβων τηλία, ἐφ' ἣ οἱ κυβεύοντες παίζουσι. *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford, 757, 5-6.

22 *Κρομμυωνία* σὺι: Ἡ δὲ *Κρομμυωνία* σῦς, ἣν Φαιᾶν προσωνόμαζον, οὐ φαῦλον ἦν θηρίον, ἀλλὰ μάχιμο καὶ χαλεπὸν κρατηθῆναι. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8, 6, 5.

Epist. 24

6-7 Ἴν' οὖν μὴ Κρόνῳ τὰμὰ καταποθείη γεννήματα, τῶν φιλά-

των δὲ στερηθείην ἐγώ: Hyrtakenos intentionally did not name the official who was supposed to present a letter of his to the Emperor. He called him Kronos in a light spirit if not ironically like the mythological god who had devoured his own children. Hyrtakenos' pun is quite obvious for he regarded his letter as an offspring of his following the classicizing jargon of his day. Responsible for the presentation of the petitions addressed to the Emperor was the *epi ton deeseon*. In the period under discussion this office was occupied by Georgios Chatzikes (PLP 30724).

Epist. 25

2-3 Ἦιτηκότη σοι τον λόγον ἦκει μετὰ θάρρους, ἦκει δ' οὖν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά τῳ προτέρῳ: The work which Phialites had asked from Hyrtakenos could be a revised version of the oration which he dedicated to the Virgin of the Akatamachetos Church, ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris 1831, 1-58. The same work he presented to Pepagomenos; cf. Epist. 51.

Epist. 26

2 Κονδύλους ἀπὸ καλάμων ὑπογραφέας: The main writing instrument in Byzantium was the sharpened reed (*kalamos*) whose fine tip was similar to modern metal pens.<sup>3</sup> Their value may have been minimal and yet they were

3. Cf. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, 86. ODB III, 1621-1622.



considered appropriate as a small gift. Georgios Kyprios provided Theodora Raoulaina with fine reeds for pens (δόνακας) and asked her to return them if she had no use of them. Cf. S. Kotzabassi, "Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina", *Parekbolai* 1 (2011) 128, 147, 1-10. And Ioannes Tzetzes receiving some knives as a gift he remarked that he knew something about them because he used one to sharpen his pen (Epist. 69,8ff, Leone, 98).

- 4-5 ὁ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἐπὶ νόμος: It is not clear if the person implied here is an official named Βλαχερνίτης or an official of the Blachernai palace, a προκαθήμενος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν παλατίων (cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, 139,19; 166,2; 187,25 and Manuel Philes, epigr. 41, Miller, II, 411, 101). Yet, a certain Μανουὴλ Βλαχερνίτης appears in the sources as *hetaireiarches* in Thessalonike in the service of Andronikos III Palaiologos in 1328 (PLP 2829).

#### Epist. 27

- 5-7 πέπυσμαι γὰρ ὥς τινες τῶν αὐτονόμων — μέρος τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι κόμματος: The addressee was about to join a monastic community which was in schism with the official body of the Church. Implied must be the followers of Arsenios Autoreianos who refused to recognize the patriarchate of Constantinople. If this supposition is correct then the letter was written prior to the healing of the schism in 1310.

#### Epist. 31

- 5-6 Ῥαδηνὸν δ' οὐκ ἂν πείσαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ἡρημένον εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἄνδρα: Radenos, a former student of Hyrtakenos and at that time employed in some official capacity in the court, may be identified with Nikolaos Radenos (PLP 23984), a correspondent of Georgios Oinaïotes.<sup>4</sup>

- 23-24 βηλάριον: In the context of this letter Hyrtakenos seems to refer to a fabric made of cotton in various colors, used for garments; cf. βηλάρια βαμβακερά, τὸ ἐν πράσινον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον βένετον, *Actes d' Iviron*, II, ed. V. Kravari et al., 180, 25, 29. In two other letters he asked the addressees, the *megas dioiketes* (Epist. 43, 8) and Nikephoros Metochites (Epist. 49, 12) for a mantle (χλαῖνα) to keep him warm in winter. For the same reason he asked his former student Loukites to send him from Trebizond a secular black cowl lined with a fox fur together with an undergarment made of silk also in black color: κοσμηκὸν μέλαν ἄμφιον πέμψον, δορὰν ἡμφιεσμένον (Epist. 37, 28-29).

#### Epist. 33

- 14 Σουσαρίων: Perhaps he was a fictitious person, credited as having originated comedy between 581-560 BC. Pauly-Wissova, IV A 973-974.

4. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκὺς», 373.

## Epist. 34

- 11 συζῶν δὲ βασιλεύς: The letter was written either during the joint rule of Michael IX with his father Andronikos II – in the period 1294-1320 – or after the death of Michael IX in 1320, when besides Andronikos II on the throne had been raised his grandson Andronikos III, crowned Emperor in February 1325.<sup>5</sup> Fatouros, “Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos”, 223-224, has connected this letter with Epist. 33 (addressed to the Emperor) and Epist. 36 (addressed to Metochites) because in all three letters Hyrtakenos described his material privations requesting corn and barley (σπάνις ἀναγκαίων κρατῇ (34, 3); ἀλλὰ γὰρ νέμοις, γαληνότατε βασιλεῦ, αὐτῷ σίτῳ καὶ κριθῇ (33, 16-17); ἐπισιτισμοῦ δέησίς μοι πρὸς βασιλέα 36, 26) and has proposed an early date for them around the year 1312.
- 11-12 ἔς τ’ ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη. The verse derives from the Epigram *Anthol. Gr.* VII 153, attributed incorrectly in antiquity to Homer or Kleobulos of Lindos:

Χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ’ ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι.  
 ἔστ’ ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη,  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ  
 ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαμμαι.

5. Cf. Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόμεναι καὶ στέψεις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αυτοκράτορος*, Athens 1956, 186-189.

It was cited by Plato in *Phaedr.* 264d and been widely known ever since. The quotation was known also to Libanios, or. 17,34 (II 220 Foerster), ep. 780 (X 704 Foerster). The source of Hyrtakenos cannot be ascertained – it could be Libanios or the *Anthologia Planudea*. It is also cited by the Anonym. Upsal., G.H. Karlsson, *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus* 28, Stockholm 1981, 53, 88.

## Epist. 35

- 4-5 ἡμεληκέναι με τοῦ φιλτάτου: Metochites was not an indifferent parent with regard to his children’s education (cf. Gregoras, VIII 5, 309, 12-19 who taught his son – probably Nikephoros – and his daughter Eirene) and judging from Hyrtakenos’ correspondence he made inquiries about his son’s progress especially when he thought that his child did not receive enough instruction as this letter suggests (cf. Epist. 74, 10-12: μηνύματα συχνά, χειμερία ἐοικότα νιφάδεσσι, παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀφικνοῦνται λαμπρότητος ὥστ’ ἐπιδιδόναι παιδείαν τὸν φίλτατον). Yet it is not clear which one of his four sons is implied in the above mentioned letters. They may refer to Nikephoros Metochites, the only one in fact to be a recipient of Hyrtakenos’ letters (Epist. 42, 44, 49, 71). As to its date, Fatouros, “Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Metochites”, 223-224 proposed the year 1312 or even an earlier time for the four letters addressed to Metochites with regard to the education of his sons in the chronological sequence (Epist. 62, 19, 35, 74).

## Epist. 36

- 5-6 βασιλεὺς δέ, οὗ χάριν καὶ δι' ὃν ἥλιος δεδημιούργηται: Applied to the Emperor as a sun-like ruler, the topos is derived from antiquity and became a standard propaganda piece in both imperial ceremony and court rhetoric. The same motif is developed by Hyrtakenos in his Προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, that is Andronikos II: ψυχὴν εἶναι τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτου χάριν καὶ δεδημιούργητο (ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 251). Cf. also H. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arrangen der Urkunden*, Vienna 1964, 75-80. M.G. Parani, "Rise like the Sun: the God-inspired Kingship: Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremony", in A. Lidov, ed. *Light and Fire in Sacred Space*, Moscow 2013, 159-184.

## Epist. 37

- 6-7 οὐπω γὰρ τῆς προτέρας λύπης ἀφυβρισάσης — προτέραν δὲ λέγω τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνεμᾶ συμβᾶσαν τῷ μακαρίτῃ: The drowning of Anemas (PLP 91211) in the sea of Propontis is mentioned in one more letter addressed to Loukites (Epist. 40, 15), yet the text does not clarify whether he was the captain, a member of the crew of the sunken ship, or simply a courier bringing gifts to Hyrtakenos from Trebizond. The latter seems more probable. Shipwrecks are rarely mentioned in the sources; cf. G. Makris, "Schiffbruch" in his *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schifffahrt*, Genova 1988, 242-245.

- 38-40 Ἄνδρὸς φιλοσόφου μεγιστᾶνος ἐγκώμιον — τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου πέπομφα: This epic work of Hyrtakenos composed in two hundred fifty dactylic hexameters is not extant.
- 40-41 καθ' Ὅμηρον, ἀπὸ μυῶν καὶ βατράχων: Implied is the parody of the *Ilias Batrachomyomachia* (the Battle of Frogs and Mice), a short Epos in 303 verses, which was traditionally believed to be a work of Homer; cf. Th. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera* V, Oxford 1946, 168-183.

## Epist. 38

- 34-36 ἐρυθριάσας τοίνυν ὁ παιδευτὴς ἐπανάγει κενὸς — καὶ παρὰ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρυτανεῖον χωρεῖ τραφησόμενος: Hyrtakenos' income depended upon the fees he exacted from his students, but the pay was irregular and even rich parents failed to pay him. His livelihood threatened, he complained to the grand logothete Metochites (Epist. 39, 66, 81) and the Emperor (Epist. 53, 64) that his students refused to pay him their fees. In several letters addressed to the Emperor and to high ranking officials he asked to be given a *siteresion*, that is a yearly allowance for his services as ■ teacher (Epist. 63, 64, 74, 77, 81, 93). His school was private but it was attended by students sponsored by the government. A number of his former students moreover were serving in the imperial court as *notarioi* and other similar positions.
- 40-41 Ἄλλ' ἦν τῶν βασιλέως νοταρίων ἕκαστος ἀργύριον ἐν κατὰ μῆνα βραβεύῃ μοι τῷ παιδεύσαντι: A very unrealistic proposal by Hyrtakenos, but one which underscores his in-

sistence that the services he renders to the State should be recognized. The imperial secretaries (called also *grammatikoi*) ranked low in the ranks of the administration and served in various government departments; cf. ODB III, 1495.

#### Epist. 40

- 10 ὡς χελιδόσιν – γράμμασιν / 12 αἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀηδόνες λιγυρὸν ἁσματίσωσι: The nightingale and the swallow to which the letter is likened is a well known topos in almost every collection of letters and in *progymnasmata*. Cf. Mauropous, Epist. 1, Karpozilos, 33, 1-15; 199-201. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l' épistolographie byzantine*, 106-111. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 226.

#### Epist. 41

- 10-11 κατὰ τὸν ἀνεψιθέντα Πέλοπα: Pelops was killed by his father Tantalus and his flesh was offered to the gods at a meal in order to test their intelligence. The gods however returned him to life.
- 12-13 ἐξ Ἀιδωνέως κατιόντα τῇ τε ψυχῇ τοῦ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίου χρησάμενον: Aidoneus ruled in the underworld, in the realm of the dead, where Odysseus descended and sought a prophecy from the ghost of the blind seer Teiresias (Homer, *Odyssey*, 10, 485ff).

#### Epist. 44

- 2 Σὺ – φιλόσοφος εἶ: About Nikephoros Metochites' erudition we know next to nothing, yet Hyrtakenos appealed to his philosophic training twice in an attempt to flatter him and make his case each time more creditable (cf. Epist. 71,2ff.).

#### Epist. 46

- 2 Ἄλλην τρέχων τις, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, ἄλλην ἐβάδισε: The proverb seems to have its roots in late antiquity but it surfaces in letter collections mostly after the twelfth century. Cf. M. Grünbart, "Da capo: Ein übersehenes byzantinisches Sprichwort", *Medioevo Greco* 6, (2006) 145-147.
- 3-6 πεπτωκότος πατρός καὶ φίλου – καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους ἄμφω διατηρεῖν: The letter must have been written long after the death of Georgios Akropolites (1282) – since Hyrtakenos reminded the addressee the promise they had given to his father that they stay close friends. His rise to the office of *megas logothetes* sometime after 1294 (or perhaps later in 1305/1306) may have provided the occasion for the composition of the letter.

#### Epist. 47

- 7-8 τὴν δόσιν – παρηγγύησας Πατζοπούλῳ: An otherwise unknown person (PLP 22047).

#### Epist. 50

- 11-13 Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί μή, γράμμασιν ἐπιστείλας – ἀπλοῖκοῖς δέ τισι

καὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ τοῦτοις δι' ἄλλοτρίας χειρός: Hyrtakenos thought it was not appropriate for a scholar residing in the Queen of Cities to receive a pedestrian message written even by someone else's hand and not his correspondent. It is not clear if he was snobbish or simply condescending to his provincial correspondent. Ioannes Tzetes had received also a letter written in simple and low style (ἑμετρίαζε γὰρ ἡ γραφή καὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν κατεσύρετο), but he praised the author, a high ranking official, for his splendid ideas (Epist. 76, 9ff, Leone, 112).

- 20-21 τί πρὸς ταύτην Ἀθῆναι, αἱ πρὶν μὲν χρυσαῖ ταῖς παιδεύσεσιν, νυνὶ δὲ κενὴ μακαρία: The decline of Athens as a cultural centre and Constantinople as its spiritual heir is a rather common theme in rhetorical and epistolographical texts. The well known passage of Michael Choniates about the poverty of the city and its uneducated citizens reflected a realistic situation (cf. Epist. 8, 28, and 52, Kolovou, 11-13, 38-39 and 72-73). Hyrtakenos' statement goes however back to an old rhetorical topos which contrasted the pagan wisdom of Athens to the glorious imperial City which was founded by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great. This trend of thought is nothing new for it is encountered in various city encomia like the *Byzantios* of Theodoros Metochites,<sup>6</sup> but also in letter collections, for instance of Konstantinos Akropolites (Epist.

6. Cf. Theodoros Metochites, *Βυζάντιος ἡ περὶ τῆς βασιλίδος μεγαλοπόλεως*, ed. I. Polemis, Thessaloniki, § 33, pp. 358,21-360,55.

37,1-8, Romano, 136-137), and of Ioannes Chortasmenos: καὶ Ἀθηναίων τὰ σεμνὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ φοβερά διηγήματα εἰς τὸ μηδὲν περιέστη τανῶν, καὶ εἰ μὴ δι' Ἀριστείδην κατ' τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ποιηθέντα λόγον ἐκείνῳ οὐδόλως ἂν ἦν ἐν μνήμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ πόλις, (Epist. 44,6-9, Hunger, 200, 45,2-5. Cf. also E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9], Munich 1968, 196ff). But Hyrtakenos by praising the City as a centre of culture and learning in essence projected himself as a tutor and scholar and this becomes more evident in another letter of his to his former student Loukites in which he repeats the same cliché and considers him moreover fortunate to have studied (implied of course under him) in the Queen of Cities: καὶ θεαύμακα μὲν τὸν ἐπιστείλαντα, μεμακάρικα δὲ τὴν ὀλβιωτάτην ἐν λόγοις καὶ πάγχρυσον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ φιλευσεβοῦς βασιλέως πόλιν (Epist. 73, 6-9).

Epist. 51

- 2-3 "Ἦξει σοι μὲν ὁ λόγος — ἐπήγγελτο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅπως οὐχ ἦξειν: The promised work sent to Pepagomenos is evidently the oration Hyrtakenos had dedicated to the Virgin of the Akatamachetos Church in Constantinople;<sup>7</sup> cf.

7. The location of the Akatamachetos Church is not known, but its founder, a certain sebastos Gouliotes may have lived in the early part of the fourteenth century. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III. *Les églises et les monastères*, 157.

Θεοδώρου εὐτελοῦς τοῦ Ὑρτακηνοῦ λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτείαν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀκαταμάχτου (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, 1-58).

Epist. 52

- 2-3 Εἰ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἦλθες, σοφώτατε, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ψῆφον αὐτοῖς δικαίαν ἔχεις ἐξενεγκών: Perhaps the dispatched epic to Galesiotes is the same as the one Hyrtakenos had sent to Loukites; cf. Epist. 37, 38-40.

Epist. 55

- 73-74 Ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ἤδη πρὸς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ νοῦ στρέφω τὸν ἄξονα: A frequently used phrase in his other writings: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν κείμενον στρεπτέον ἤδη τοῦ λόγου τὸν ἄξονα. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 289; II, 441, 452;

Epist. 56

- 24 σεπτέος ὁ δώδεκα: The number twelve was sacred in the judaeo-christian tradition (Old and New Testament, Christian calendar) and in Greek antiquity (Mythology, the sciences, astronomy and mathematics). Cf. G.K. Spyridakes, *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 5, 243-244. "Number Symbolism and Theory", ODB, III, 1502.
- 45-48 δέλτου τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας — χρεὼ σε ταύτης ἐφασκεν: It should be pointed out that it is not very clear if the twelve golden *nomismata* which Loukites sent to Hyrtakenos covered also the price of a copy of Homer's

*Odyssey* plus the purchase of fish roe and incense or were simply a very generous gift to him. For some indicative prices for manuscripts assessed in the Palaeologan period, see H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit", *JÖBG* 8 (1959) 123-155, esp. 138ff; *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, 41-42.

- 52-53 ὁ μόνον ἦν, διαπέπεμπται. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ, λίτρα θυμιάματος μία: Incense in the form of an aromatic resin was imported from Arabia and India and it is interesting that Loukites ordered it from Constantinople. For its usage in the Jewish ritual and its introduction later in the Christian worship as also in the imperial ceremonies, see the lemma "Θυμιάμα" in the *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 6, 560-562 and B. Chevallier - Caseau, *Ἐνῶδια, The Use and Meaning of Fragrances in the Ancient World and their Christianization (100 - 900 AD)*, Chicago 1994.

- 55 ἦν δὲ μύσχος ἄριστος διαπεμφθείη: Implied is musk, an aromatic substance extracted from the abdomen of the male musk deer and sold in Constantinople by the guild of *myrepsoi* together with spices and aromatic products brought from Pontos, that is Chaldia and Trebizond; ἀλλ' ἐμπορευέσθωσαν ... ξυλαλώνην, ἄμβαρ, μύσχον, λίβανον σμύρναν; cf. *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. Koder, [CFHB 33], Vienna 1991, § 10, 1, 7 and 10, 2, 2. In his treatise on the nutritious properties of food Symeon Seth gives a description of the various kinds of musk and the places of their production; B. Langkavel, *Simeonis Sethi Syn-*

*tagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, Leipzig 1868, 66-67. One of course wonders that Loukites should have asked for such supplies which one would expect that were available in Trebizond, where they were normally imported from the Middle East and from there carried to Constantinople.

- 57 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧν τὰρίχη εὐρέθη: Hyrtakenos claimed that he could not find fish roe in Constantinople to send it to Loukites because the fishermen had not caught any *kephalos* (*Mugil cephalus*). Yet the request of Loukites for caviar is puzzling considering that this commodity was exported from the northern coast of the Black Sea to the markets of Constantinople: καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πόντου κατακομιζόμενον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῶν ἐκεῖσε ταχιστευομένων ἰχθύων ὦν. Epist. 52, Chortasmenos, 209, 27-29 dated ca. 1407. Was it then at that time not available in the markets of Trebizond? Cf. D. Jacoby, "Caviar Trading in Byzantium", *Mare et litora: Essays presented to Sergei Karpov*, ed. R. Shukurov, Moscow 2009, 349-363, esp. 353-354. For the fish roe produced from *kephalos*, see F. Tinnefeld, "Zur kulinarischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische", *Collected Papers Dedicated to Kin-ichi Watanabe, Studies in the Mediterranean World Past and Present*, XI, Tokyo 1988, 159.

#### Epist. 58

- 2 ὁσπρίω – φαυσηλίω: Hyrtakenos gives an exceptional etymology for the word φάσηλος/φασήολος/φασόλιν (derived from φαῦσις/φάω and ἥλιος) to comply with the symbolism of his gift of beans – that the Emperor may rule like the

sun from sunrise in the east to sunset in the west. An anonymous medical tract transmits also the form φαυσούλιον (J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici greci minores*, II, ch. 18, 2); cf. also *Etymologicum Gudianum*, F.W. Sturz, 550, φασουλῖς, ὁσπρεα, φῶς ὅλον. In encomia, letters and *prooimia* the Emperor is likened to the sun<sup>8</sup> – a standard propaganda theme which is reflected in some fashion here as also in Epist. 36, 22-23: καὶ τῇ θερμῇ προστρέχω τοῦ βασιλέως – ἥλιος γάρ.

#### Epist. 59

- 2-3 Πυροῦ τελέως ἐκλελοιπότης με ἔργον γέγονα πυρετοῦ: Hyrtakenos does not complain about his health, a favoured topic by some letter writers as, for instance, Gregorios Kyprios. In his Oration dedicated to the Theotokos of the Akatamachetos Church in Constantinople, he mentioned, however, that he was rescued from death by the Mother of God having fallen seriously sick during a widespread disaster, perhaps an epidemic (?): οὐπερ ἔργον ἐν χρῶ κινδυνευκότα γεγονέναι διεφυλάξω με, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βραχὺ παραπεμψομένου τοῖς ἐν ἁδοῦ νοσήματος (Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, 57).
- 2-3 πυρετοῦ – κριθῆς: The remedy which Hyrtakenos de-

8. Cf. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden*, 75-80. Parani, "Rise like the Sun: the God-inspired Kingship: Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremony", 159-184.



scribes was known from the time of Oribasius who advised that the barley should not be peeled but only washed in water and be boiled: τοῖς δὲ πυρέττουσι δεῖ τὴν κριθὴν μὴ περιπτίσειν, ἀλλὰ πλύναντες ἐψεῖν τῷ ὕδατι. Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, 4, 35, 9, 2.

# Epist. 61

The fact that Hyrtakenos was entertaining the idea to retire to a monastery because of his financial problems presupposes that at that time he was either a widower or that he had never been married. The idea of taking monastic vows and retiring from the world is discussed also in a letter (dating from the same period?) to Basileios Glykys: δεῖν ᾠήθην ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν βίῳ τοιῷδε, συντάξασθαι δὲ Θεῷ (Epist. 93, 3-4).

# Epist. 62

2-3 ἄλματα περὶ λόγους — τὸν φίλτατον ἄλλεσθαι: The letter suggests that Hyrtakenos was left with no students at that time and on account of it he offered to work for Metochites as a private tutor. In another instance he informed Opsikianos that he was not hired as a teacher (μὴ θητεύων τελῷ), but he would be grateful if he could offer his services once again (Epist. 45, 4).

# Epist. 63

9-10 Συχνός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι μάτην παρώχῃκε, μηδὲν ὀναμένῳ τῆς λειτουργίας: The same wording is used in his next letter to the Emperor, which suggests that they date

from the same period: μακρός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι παρώχῃκε ... τῆς ἐπαράτου λειτουργίας ὀναμένῳ μηδὲν (Epist. 64, 2-3).

17-19 εἰ δ' οὖν, Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις ἐς Κέρβερον, σχολή, χολή δὲ μᾶλλον, ἐς κόρακας: His complaint that he taught prosody (προσῳδία) and yet he had no profit (πρόσοδος) from it — καὶ τὸ λαρυγγίζειν περὶ προσῳδιῶν, πρόσσοδος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ he wrote another time to Metochites (Epist. 66, 24) — and that he was fed up with his school, which to him was no longer σχολή but rather χολή, though voiced in a serious and sober tone, has a mocking if not sarcastic effect (cf. also Epist. 64, 66, 74, 77, 81 and 93 which seem to belong chronologically to the same period).<sup>9</sup> If this supposition proves correct then this cluster of letters which register his efforts to gain a government salary were written during the patriarchate of Ioannes Glykys (1315-1319) because in Epist. 93 Hyrtakenos asked Basileios Glykys to intervene on his behalf with his father the Patriarch to secure the much desired *siteresion*.

20-21 πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, γνῶρισον τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολήν: The letter which Hyrtakenos asked the *prokathemenos tou vestiarion* to submit to the Emperor comes next in the collection (Epist. 64), which suggests that they form a sequel.

9. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω σχολή, ἐρρόντων λόγοι (Epist. 74, 27-28); εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω μὲν Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις θητεύουσιν, ἐρρόντων λόγοι, Μοῦσαι τε καὶ σχολή (Epist. 77, 26-28); εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐγὼ μὲν οἴχοι μενῶ, οἱ φοιτηταὶ δὲ παιζόντων ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς (Epist. 81, 17-19).



## Epist. 64

5-7 τοιγαροῦν, ἀπειρηκότι παιδοτριβεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ῥᾶον οὐδὲν ἄνευ σῆς προσταγῆς: Hyrtakenos was not free to give up teaching without the Emperor's permission.<sup>10</sup> He was in some kind of dependence on the State as a teacher salaried by the court and as such only the Emperor could relieve him of his contract. Evidently his school was attended by poor students sponsored by the government. He reminded the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* that by supporting him the court will support actually the young men in their studies (συστήσας ἂν καὶ νέους, Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας, Epist. 63, 17). The same argument he used also in his letter to the Emperor – that the gain of teaching poor students is in essence transferred to his imperial majesty: ὡς ἂν, πενομένων διδασκομένων, ἐς τὴν σὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν διαβαίνει τὸ κέρδος (Epist. 64, 9-10).

## Epist. 67

10 τὰ Μυρτίλου παθεῖν: The charioteer Myrtilos was bribed by Pelops to tamper the axle of the chariot of his master Oinomaos so that Pelops would win the chariot race and

10. καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ ζυγῶ δουλείας καταδεδίκασμαι, βασιλέως ἔτι παιδεύειν νέους προστάσσοντος (Epist. 93, 6-8 to Basileios Glykys). This letter seems to have been written at the same time as Epist. 64 judging from the similarities in their wording: καὶ τῆς ἐπαράτου λειτουργίας δναμένω μηδὲν (64, 3) - καὶ μηδὲν τῆς ἐπαράτου ταύτης λειτουργίας δνάμενος (93, 2-3).

take Oinomaos' daughter Hippodameia for his wife. Yet after his victory and the abduction of Hippodameia Pelops threw Myrtilos into the sea. Pauly-Wissowa, XVI 1158ff. Eustathius *Comm. Il.* 281, 10 ff. (van der Valk): τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσι διὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλῳ θρυλλούμενα, ὃς ἡνιόχει μὲν Οἰνομάῳ τῷ τῆς ῥηθείσης Ἱπποδαμείας πατρὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖς λεγόμενος διὰ τὸ δόλιος εἶναι καὶ λόγιος· προὔδωκε δὲ τὸν δεσπότην πεισθεὶς τῇ παιδί θέλousη τὸ κακὸν κατὰ ἔρωτα Πέλοπος καὶ τοὺς πασσαλίσκους ἦτοι ἐμβόλους ἐξελών, οἱ ταῖς χοινικίσιν ἦτοι τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἄξονος ἐνειρόμενοι κατέχουσι τοὺς τροχοὺς, διεκπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἄρματηλασίας πεποίηκεν.

38 τριῶν μονυδρίων εἰρησομένων: The exact location of the three small monasteries which Hyrtakenos wished to receive as a *charistikion* in the mountainous region of Kyzikos is not known, despite the fact that monastic establishments dedicated to Saint George and the Archangel Michael are mentioned in the sources (with the exception of the third one called by the surname Karydion). It is worth mentioning that the practice of offering monastic properties to individuals as a *charistikion* for a limited period of time and on a conditional basis during this period was rather restricted, and this may explain the reluctance of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys to grant this favour to Hyrtakenos. M.C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, 156-157.

## Epist. 69

- 5-6 προοίμιον ὕμνου πρὸς Ἀγησίδαμον Πινδάρῳ τῷ σοφῷ λελυρώδεται: In his Olympian 10 Pindar commemorated the victory of Hagesidamos of Western Lokroi in boxing in Olympia in 476BC.

## Epist. 70

- 2 Καὶ γραῦς μεμαθηκυῖα συκοφαγεῖν: Hyrtakenos here echoes a proverb or some kind of a popular saying which nonetheless is transmitted in Modern Greek proverbial phrases in the form of «γλυκάθηκεν ἡ γριά ἔς τὰ σῦκα». Cf. N.G. Polites, *Μελέτες περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ λαοῦ*, vol. IV, Athens 1902, 128, 131-132.

## Epist. 71

- 7-9 οὐκοῦν τοῦπι κεφαλῆς ἀσκητὸν πῖλον, Ἡσιόδῳ πεισθεὶς τῷ σοφῷ, πέπομφας: Hats made of compressed wool were in fashion in the last centuries of Byzantium. Their type and shape however is not specified in the letters of this period. Michael Gabras asked Philippos Logaras to provide him an ἀσκητὸν πῖλον – the Hesiodian appellation had become obviously a cliché in learned circles – from a shop located in his neighborhood; Epist. 400, Fatouros, 625, 2ff and 426, p. 659, 3ff. Cf. also A. Karpozilos, “Realia in Byzantine Epistolography”, *BZ* 88 (1995) 79-80.

## Epist. 73

- 11-12 οὐχ ἥμιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκρους ἀστρονόμους ὠδίνουσάν τε καὶ τρέ-

φουσάν: The interest in astronomy was revived in Constantinople by Theodoros Metochites who began his studies in this field around 1313 under the instruction of the prominent astronomer Manuel Bryennios; cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, 248-249. But Loukites himself seems to have been interested in astronomy and certainly knew the astronomer Gregorios Chioniades who had lived for a period of time in Trebizond, and had exchanged letters with Nikephoros Gregoras a student of Metochites in the field of astronomy; cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, 251-252.

## Epist. 74

The letter must have been written at about the same time with Epist. 77 addressed to Nikephoros Choumnos. Hyrtakenos reminds Metochites the financial support given to Hyaleas (PLP 29466) and Chalkomatopoulos (PLP 30525) by the *megas logothetes* Theodoros Mouzalon (1282-1294; PLP 19439) and respectively by the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos and the same details he repeats in Epist. 77. The two letters may be dated sometime after 1321 because Hyrtakenos refers to the predecessors of Metochites in the office of the *megas logothetes*: Οἱ πρὸ σοῦ τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἐλαύνοντες ἄρμα (l. 16-17).<sup>11</sup> Cf.

11. Fatouros, “Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos”, 223-224 dates this letter around 1312 or even earlier and argues that it belongs in the same period with Epp. 33, 34 and 36.

also I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Brussels 1962, 153, who remarked that the similarity of the two letters did not bother Hyrtakenos because Metochites and Choumnos could not compare them since they were not in good terms. Chalkomatopoulos surfaces as a private teacher in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Maximos Planudes in fact entrusted to his care the education of his servant Ioannes. But the youth seemingly did not receive enough instruction from Chalkomatopoulos prompting Planudes to send him an written complaint (Epist. 66, Leone, 96,24-98,19). About the teaching activities of Hyaleas we are less informed – but according to Hyrtakenos he too had received a *siteresion* with the support of Theodoros Mouzalon.

#### Epist. 75

- 2 Ἐστι μὲν ἐν μονάσιν ὁ ἕξ τέλειος: The number which is equal to the sum of its factors is called perfect. The symbolism behind the number six is all too clear for God created the world in six days (cf. also Epist. 88, where the same theme is repeated). For a similar play with perfect numbers in epistolography, see Epist. 213 of Theodoros II Lascaris, Festa, 264,11 – 265,19 and Epist. 71 (70 Rein) of Georgios Oinaïotes: G. H. Karlsson – G. Fatouros, “Aus der Briefsammlung des Anonymus Floretinus (Georgios? Oinaïotes)”, *JÖB* 22 (1973) 211.

- 6-9 τοῦτον δὲ διὰ ῥοιᾶς γενημάτων – καὶ τέταρτον συμβασι-

λεύοντα σχοίητε: The fruit of pomegranate since antiquity was connected with fertility and the power of reproduction (cf. Paus. 2, 17, 4).<sup>12</sup> Hyrtakenos sent a gift of pomegranates to Andronikos II along with his best wishes that may soon be added a fourth joint Emperor to the throne so that they may rule in the four corners of the world. The number four receives in this sense a symbolic meaning. The same wish Hyrtakenos expressed also in Epist. 83 and 88, an indication that the three letters were written at about the same time, that is when next to Andronikos II reigned his son Michael IX (+ 12. 10. 1320) and his grandson Andronikos III. The three letters must be dated consequently some time after the marriage of the younger Andronikos to Eirene von Braunschweig (23 October 1317) and perhaps in the course of 1318; cf. Fatouros, “Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos”, 222-223.

#### Epist. 77

- 22-23 ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ὅποσον εὐδαιμονίας ἀνδρὶ περιῆν διὰ σοῦ; Hyrtakenos believed that he had been unjustly overlooked by the powerful officials and made no secret of his

12. ὁ δὲ βίος μμείσθω τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ῥοιᾶς τὴν φύσιν. Ἐκείνης γὰρ ἄβρωτός ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, στερρῷ τε καὶ κατεστυμμένῳ τῷ ἐλύτρῳ διειλημμένη, τὸ δὲ ἐγκείμενον ἡδὺ μὲν ὀφθῆναι τῷ ποικίλῳ τε καὶ εὐκόσμῳ τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ διαθέσεως, ἥδισον δὲ τῇ γεύσει γίνεται, καταγλυκαῖνον τὴν αἴσθησιν. Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Mosis*, J. Danielou, 2, 192, 9; 193,13.

bitterness in this letter to Nikephoros Choumnos who had secured a much coveted *siteresion* for the teacher Chalkomatopoulos (PLP 30525) in the past. In the funeral oration he composed for Choumnos around 1327, probably towards the end of his life and career as a teacher, he remarked that he should not be the one delivering the oration, but those that had been advanced to important positions by the departed: ἔδει μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις μᾶλλον τὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον σοφῶν, ὧν ἦν τε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ οὐς τῷ διὰ Θεοῦ βασιλεύοντι προσωκείωσε. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 288.

Epist. 78

- 15-16 ἄτε δὴ συνὼν ἀνδράσιν οὐχ Ἑλλήσιν οὐδ' ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας μετέχουσιν: This statement is puzzling – that Loukites was surrounded by non Greeks, by people who had no share of Greek learning. Was Hyrtakenos a highly opinionated scholar prejudiced towards those who lived outside the walls of Constantinople? He may have exaggerated; but it is also a well known fact that the Komnenoi in order to survive had made marriage alliances with foreign rulers, Georgians and Turkomans in particular. But it was not only Loukites who went from Constantinople to Trebizond to settle there. The astronomer Gregorios Chionides lived and taught in Trebizond at about the same period and even left part of his library to Loukites. Andreas Libadenos some years later went there to study astronomy but stayed much longer and had a career as an

ecclesiastic and court official. Nevertheless it was unthinkable to leave Constantinople in order to settle in Trebizond. It was like giving gold for bronze and with this argument the metropolitan of Ohrid Gregorios tried to dissuade a young man (Georgios Oinaiotēs?) from making his home there: τὸ γοῦν ταύτης Τραπεζοῦντα ἀλλάξασθαι 'χρύσεια χαλκεῖων' κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστιν ἀλλάξασθαι. S.I. Kourouses, «Γρηγορίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας (ιγ' / ιδ' αἰ.) Ἐπιστολαὶ μετὰ τινων βιογραφικῶν ἐξακριβώσεων», *EEBS* 45 (1981-82), 539,35-36, 548-552.

- 44-45 ἦν καμχᾶν ἢ Περσῶν φησι γλῶττα: The word καμχᾶς or καμουχᾶς (for instance in the *Alexanderroman*, ed. U. Moennig, B 794 / S 808, B 838 / S 854 derives from the Turkish *kemha*, designating normally a luxury garment made of silk; cf. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημιώδους Γραμματείας*, vol. VII, p. 320. B. Hemmerdinger, "158 noms communs grecs d' origine iranienne. D' Eschyle au grec modern", *BS* 30 (1969) 30-31. The opinion of R. Shukurov that the earliest reference to the word in Greek is encountered in the account notes of Silvester Syropoulos is not exact: "On Some Oriental Borrowings in Middle Greek (Eleventh – Fifteen Centuries)", *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul 25-28 June, 2007*, Istanbul, 2010, 153.

## Epist. 82

**11-12** τοῦ παρόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ – στέφανον: The letter was obviously written on new year's day (September 1<sup>st</sup>) – χρόνος, ὃς παρώχθηκε χθές. The biblical phrase στέφανος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ (Ps. 64:12) designates the twelve months of the year. Cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, W. Wolska-Conus, IX, 7, 6: θαυμασίως τὸν κύκλον τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν στέφανον ἐξειπών, ὡς στεφανοῦντα τῷ κάλλει ἄνωθεν τὴν γῆν.

## Epist. 83

**2-3** Ἀριθμὸς ὁ τέσσαρα – ἔστι μὲν ἐπίπεδος, γίνεται δὲ καὶ στερρός: Hyrtakenos provides himself the symbolic significance of the number four echoing Pythagorean and Christian precepts: the four elements of the created world, the four humours of the human body, the four quarters of the world. Cf. "Number Symbolism and Theory", ODB, III, 1502.

## Epist. 86

**10-11** ἔχει τοίνυν παῖς ὁ καλὸς παρὰ πατέρα τὸν κάλλιστον: The title of Choumnos' composition is not specified in the text unless it concerns the discourse about which Hyrtakenos writes in Epist. 91. For the designation of the letter as a spiritual offspring (παῖδες, τόκοι, γεννήματα), see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 226.

## Epist. 87

**8** τὸν τῆς παροιμίας Ἀρτέμωνα: Artemon became notorious

for his luxurious living and loose morals, contrasted to his past poverty and humble social position. C. Brown, "From Rags to Riches: Anacreon's Artemon", *Phoenix* 87 (1983) 1-15.

**45-46** Περὶ γε μὴν τῆς σῆς ἀρίστης ἐκφράσεως ἀριστίνδην καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκα: From Basileios Glykys' writings nothing survives. Yet, he seems to have been a scholar judging not only from his correspondence with Hyrtakenos, but also from his friendship with Nikephoros Gregoras as it is evinced in a letter addressed to him; Epist. 58, Leone, 178-179.

## Epist. 88

**8-10** τὸν ἐπτὰ τετράκισ ἐμπεριέχων – εὐλογίαν ἀπειληφότα: Nikephoros Gregoras composed an arithmological treatise Περὶ τοῦ ἐπτὰ αριθμοῦ, ὅτι πολλαχόθεν ἔχει τὸ σεβάσμιον in which he discussed the mystical significance of the number seven in musical theory (ἐπτάχορδος λύρα), language (seven vowels), astronomy (seven planets), and medicine (according to Hippocrates); cf. F. Sbordone, "L'ebdomadario di Niceforo Gregora", *Rivista Indo - greco - italica* 20 (1936) 124-142.

**19-23** ὡς ἂν συμβασιλεύοντες τέτταρες – τὸ τετραμερὲς ἄρμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑφ' ἐνὶ τεθρίππῳ συζεύξαντες. This letter was written in the course of 1318 at about the same time as Epist. 75 and 83 and in anticipation that a new member would be soon added in the imperial family. From his marriage to Eirene von Braunschweig (23. 10. 1317) the

younger Andronikos had a son born to him in 1321 but this child died in ■ year or so.

#### Epist. 91

- 11-12 εἰ δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς δὴ περιῆν ὁ θεόπτης: the discourse praised here by Hyrtakenos is identified with an unedited work in which Choumnos dealt at length with Moses (Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μὴδὲν ἀδύνατον) and commented on the Revelation that God presented to Moses and the marvels of the physical universe (Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, 18, 55, 138-140).

#### Epist. 92

This letter is essentially a duplicate of nr. 2 and its inclusion into the collection is somewhat puzzling. It may have slipped into the collection by mistake as Fatouros suggests, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 229. Its inclusion in the collection however could also imply that the codex *Parisinus gr.* 1209 is an autograph of Hyrtakenos because it transmits two different versions of a letter composed by him including the final one which he reworked and opted as a final text placing it in the very first letters of his collection. For the various stages of composition and the authorial intervention on manuscripts by way of corrections and alterations in the text, see D. Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autorenhandschriften", *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger, Darmstadt 1980, 629-644.

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